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26 February 1985

# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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26 February 1985

## EAST EUROPE REPORT

### POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

DATA ON LITERARY PRESS IN 8 SOCIALIST COUNTRIES CHARTED

Budapest KRITIKA in Hungarian Sep 84 pp 7-9

[Article by Sandor Komaromi: "The Literary Press in the Socialist Countries"]

[Text] With the exception of a few better-known periodicals, we seem to know little about the press in the countries of East Europe. Without knowledge of the sphere of communication, however, we can hardly form a reliable picture of one another's social and intellectual reality. Below we will review the Bulgarian, Czech and Slovak, Serbo-Croatian, Polish, East German, Romanian, Russian, Ukrainian and Hungarian literary periodicals published during the past 10 years. In addition to the periodicals devoted to actual literary criticism, or literature, the social sciences and reviews, we have included in our table the social or political and cultural organs that present literary materials with special emphasis, and also the literary science journals that cover more regularly the current developments in aesthetics and literary criticism. Furthermore, we included also the theatrical periodicals that review plays and publish their texts. Within the classification by language, we grouped separately the weeklies (and fortnightlies) from the monthlies, bimonthlies and quarterlies. (We have disregarded the frequent changes in periodicity and show only the latest situation.) By subject matter we have grouped separately the periodicals on world literature, the theatrical periodicals, and the periodicals on literary science and the history of literature. (The sequence of the listings is as follows: the periodicals published in the capital precede the provincial ones, and the more general publications are listed last.) We note --at least in the analysis if not in the table--the individual atypical periodicals within the groups.

Let us now examine by groups the composite picture of the language and geographic series. In the group of weeklies we find interesting extremes and characteristics. The structure of the Polish and Bulgarian weeklies is favorably ample (each country has two primarily literary weeklies, and several that are more general in their specialization); the Romanian press concentrates here its main effort in current literary criticism; the Serbo-Croatian press differs from the Romanian only in that its literary publications are fortnightlies (a form hardly found anywhere else); the GDR actually has no literary weekly at all (SONNTAG is only a substitute in this role); and Czechoslovakia has in all one Czech and one Slovak literary weekly.

The group of monthlies, bimonthlies and quarterlies presents an even more diversified picture in terms of their structure and breadth of their language areas. In-depth analysis would require individual evaluation of each publication, but let us be satisfied with a brief general overview on this occasion. The number of titles devoted entirely or partially to literary criticism is about the same as in the case of weeklies, except in the Russian, Ukrainian and Hungarian subgroups where the monthlies, etc. are compensating for the very limited number of weeklies. So far as the characteristics of the periodicals' specialization are concerned, we are able to distinguish the comprehensive roles and objectives of the central organs of the writers' unions, from the regional periodicals' local specifics (regional character, local traditions, local authors). And we see also a series of individual objectives: a forum for young writers (the Polish-language NOWY WYRAZ, the German-language TEMPERAMENTE, and the Hungarian-language MOZGO VILAG are the more recent ones; the older ones are the Russian-language YUNOSTI and the Ukrainian-language DNIPRO; in Bulgaria the publication for young writers is a weekly, but also PLAMAK has such a partial specialization); a review of world literature (the German-language SINN UND FORM; elsewhere there are separate periodicals specializing in this topic); orientation on artistic forms (the Polish-language POEZJA and DIALOG, and the Ukrainian-language POEZIYA; we included the group of theatrical periodicals as a substitute for this specialization lacking elsewhere); and condensed versions of previously published work (in Hungarian, LATOHATAR appears to be the only publication of the literary digest type). After the Russian one, the Hungarian regional network has the most titles.

The periodicals with a universal outlook that have been included in the world-literature group are themselves literary periodicals (the ones specializing in literary science and criticism have been assigned to the fifth group). Here it is worthwhile to examine the wide range of the initial years of publication: for example, the Czech and Slovak, Hungarian, Ukrainian and Romanian periodicals started publication in the 1950's, while the first Bulgarian one appeared in 1979; but this process is a very persistent one, and now only the GDR lacks a periodical of this type. In their subject matter, incidentally, these periodicals do not always limit themselves exclusively to foreign materials (as does NAGYVILAG or INOSTRANNAYA LITERATURA), but monitor the given country's own literature as well. The Soviet literary periodicals are published in several foreign languages in Moscow, and therefore they are not shown in the table.

Here and there, the periodicals devoted to the history of literature, aesthetics and literary criticism add a variety of forms to the colors of the other groups (the Russian-language V MIRE KNIG and the German-language DEUTSCHE LITERATURZEITUNG, for example, specialize in scientific book reviews. The circle of publications in this group varies considerably by countries, depending on how receptive literary science or philology is to current issues. (The list of publications is impressive in Yugoslavia.) With most of them specializing primarily in the history of literature, more individual among these periodicals seem to be the Czech-language ESTETIKA and the Hungarian-language LITERATURA that start out from literary science and aesthetics.

Our table shows, of course, the territorial proportions as well. Incidentally, the presented picture is the most diverse in this respect: the number of



titles in relation to population is rather uneven and is corrected to some extent only by the circulation figures. (Since the data on the circulation of foreign periodicals are for around 1978, also the population data are for the same period; for Hungary we have presented 1983 data.) What exactly do we find? The wide average circulation more or less compensates for the fairly few (Czech, German and Polish) and very few (Ukrainian and Russian) titles in relation to population. The exact opposite appears to be the case in areas where the number of titles in relation to population is more ample (Bulgarian and Serbo-Croatian areas) or tolerable (Hungarian language area), except that circulation figures are very low in the Serbo-Croatian language area (but it cannot really be evaluated because of the gaps between issues). From the viewpoint of circulation, it seems, a nation with a small population may even be at an advantage in terms of the potential of its press; a press structure serving a large population with relatively few titles "produces" for extensive circulation (and also for export). Incidentally, the situation in Hungary is truly favorable also in terms of circulation, and we trail only Bulgaria.

Aside from certain local irregularities, the overall data by language areas generally suggest wide variety, in the structure of publications and the structure of their specialization as well. And the dates in the eventful process of the periodicals' birth and demise are in themselves a lesson in social history: around 1955, comprehensively throughout the 1960's, and even in 1970-1975. In its present completeness, the structure in Hungary likewise developed in the 1970's. In many instances the table indicates also the date when a forerunner of a current title first appeared. Among them we occasionally find real resurrections (for example, LITERATURNAYA UCHEBA was founded by Gorkiy, but subsequently it suspended publication; or the Ukrainian-language VSESVIT). But very often we find also uninterrupted continuity that fosters the heritage of a distant past.

(The data were gathered and evaluated jointly by the collective of the State Gorkiy Library's Workshop for the Documentation of World Literature.)

BULGARIA		GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC	
Population	9 million		17 million
<b>1. Literary and Social Weeklies</b>			
LITERATUREN FRONT, Sofia, 1944 (literary criticism)	50,000	SONNTAG, Berlin, 1946 (cultural and political)	42,000
PULS, Sofia, 1965 (literary criticism, social)	25,000	DIE WELTBÜHNE, Berlin, 1946 (political and cultural review)	28,000
ANTENI, Sofia, 1970 (political, cultural)	160,000		
NARODNA KULTURA, Sofia, 1957 (cultural, political)	50,000		
OTECHESTVO, Sofia, 1975 (illustrated social, cultural and political)	90,000		
<b>2. Literary and Social Monthlies, Bimonthlies and Quarterlies</b>			
PLAMAK, Sofia, 1966 (literary criticism and social)	10,000	NEUE DEUTSCHE LITERATUR, Berlin, 1960 (literary criticism)	12,000
RODOPI, Sofia, 1966 (literary and social)	12,000	SINN UND FORM, Berlin, 1949 (literary criticism, world literature)	5,000
SAVREMENIK, Sofia, 1972 (literary, cultural)	5,000	TEMPERAMENTE, Berlin, 1975 (literary, cultural, political, and forum for young authors)	
SEPTEMVRI, Sofia, 1945 (literary criticism)	15,000	ICH SCHREIBE, Leipzig, 1960 (literary and cultural, a forum for working-class writers)	
PROSTORI, Varna, 1961 (literary, cultural)	1,600		
TRAKIYA, Plovdiv, 1961 (literary, cultural)	2,600		
VIT, Pleven, 1963 (literary, cultural)	1,000		
RODOLYUBIYE, Sofia, 1983 (illustrated sociopolitical, cul- tural)	20,000		
SLAVYANI, Sofia, 1945-1982 (illustrated sociopolitical, cul- tural)	20,000		
<b>3. Periodicals on World Literature</b>			
FAKEL, Sofia, 1981 (Soviet literature)		KUNST UND LITERATUR, Berlin, 1954 (art, literature)	3,500
PANORAMA, Sofia, 1979 (world literature)	12,000		
<b>4. Periodicals Publishing Plays</b>			
TEATR, Sofia, 1946	4,500	THEATER DER ZEIT, Berlin, 1946	10,000
<b>5. Periodicals on History of Literature, Aesthetics and Criticism</b>			
LITERATURNIA MISL, Sofia, 1957	4,000	DEUTSCHE LITERATURZEITUNG, Berlin, 1886 (scientific book reviews)	3,000
		WEIMARER BEITRÄGE, Berlin-Weimar, 1954 (aesthetics, literary criticism)	3,500
		ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR GERMANISTIK, Leipzig, 1980 (history of literature, philology)	
<b>6. Hungarian-Language (a) Weeklies and (b) Other Periodicals Published Abroad</b>			



## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Population	Czech 9.5 million	Slovak 4.5 million
1. Literary and Social Weeklies		
KMEN, Prague, 1982 (separately paginated literary criticism and cultural supplement of TVORBA)		NEDELNA PRAVDA, Bratislava, 1967 (separate Sunday supplement to the daily PRAVDA) 330,000
TVORBA, Prague 1968 (social, political) 70,000		NOVE SLOVO, Bratislava, 1958 (social, political, cultural) 50,000
2. Literary and Social Monthlies, Bimonthlies and Quarterlies		
LITERARNI MESICNIK, Prague, 1972 (literary criticism monthly) 15,000		SLOVENSKE POHLADY, Bratislava, 1881 (literary criticism) 6,000
CERVENY KVET, Ostrava, 1956 (literary, artistic, social)		
3. Periodicals on World Literature		
SOVETSKA LITERATURA, 1977 (bilingual on Soviet literature)		
SVETOVA LITERATURA, Prague, 1956 (world literature) 10,000		REVUE SVETOVEJ LITERATURY, Bratislava, 1964 (review of world literature) 7,000
4. Periodicals Publishing Plays		
5. Periodicals on History of Literature, Aesthetics and Criticism		
CASOPIS MODERNI FILOLOGIE, Prague, 1958 (bilingual supplement of PHILOLOGIA PRAGENSIS) 1,000		
ESTETIKA, Prague, 1954 1,500		
CESKA LITERATURA, Prague, 1953 1,700		ROMBOID, Bratislava, 1965 2,500
		SLOVENSKA LITERATURA, Bratislava, 1954 1,300
6. Hungarian-Language (a) Weeklies and (b) Other Periodicals Published Abroad		
		(a)
		HET, Bratislava, 1956 (social, political, cultural weekly) 30,000
		VASARNAPI UJ SZO, Bratislava, 1968 (cultural Sunday supplement of the daily UJ SZO) 85,000
		(b)
		IRODALMI SZEMLE, Bratislava, 1958 (literary criticism monthly)

HUNGARY		POLAND	
Population	9.7 million	34 million	
1. Literary and Social Weeklies			
ELET ES IRODALOM, Budapest, 1957	56,000	LITERATURA, Warsaw, 1972-1981 (literary criticism)	100,000
UJ TUKOR, Budapest, 1976	110,000	ZYCIE LITERACKIE, Krakow, 1951 (literary criticism)	80,000
		KULTURA, Warsaw, 1963-1981 (cultural, social)	100,000
		POLITYKA, Warsaw, 1957 (political, social, cultural)	290,000
		TYGODNIK KULTURALNY, Warsaw, 1957 (cultural weekly)	50,000
		TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY, Warsaw, 1982 (general weekly)	
2. Literary and Social Monthlies, Bimonthlies and Quarterlies			
KORTARS, Budapest, 1957	12,500	DIALOG, Warsaw, 1955 (plays, reviews, aesthetics)	9,000
MOZGO VILAG, Budapest, 1971	12,000	LITERATURA, Warsaw, 1982 (literary criticism)	
UJ IRAS, Budapest, 1961	10,000	MIESIECZNIK LITERACKI, Warsaw, 1965 (literary monthly)	6,000
LATOHA TAR, Budapest, 1972		NOWY WYRAZ, Warsaw, 1972 (literary, cultural, political, and a forum for young authors)	5,500
ALFOLD, Debrecen, 1955	3,000	POEZJA, Warsaw, 1965 (poetry appreciation, fiction)	11,000
ELETUNK, Szombathely, 1969	1,000	TEKSTY, Warsaw, 1972 (literary criticism, aesthetics)	2,000
FORRAS, Kecskemet, 1969	2,800	TWORCZOSC, Warsaw, 1945 (literary criticism)	10,000
JELENKOR, Pecs, 1958	2,500	NURT, Poznan, 1967 (literary, social)	
MUHELY, Gyor, 1978	1,200	ODRA, Wroclaw, 1963 (literary, social)	
NAPJAINK, Miskolc, 1962	2,000	TU I TERAZ, Warsaw, 1982 (social, cultural)	
PALOCFOLD, Salgotarjan, 1966	1,000		
SOMOGY, Kaposvar, 1970	1,800		
TISZATAJ, Szeged, 1947	4,000		
UJ AURORA, Bekecsosaba, 1973	1,000		
UJ FORRAS, Tatabanya, 1969	1,500		
3. Periodicals on World Literature			
NAGYVILAG, Budapest, 1956	14,000	LITERATURA NA SWIECIE, Warsaw, 1973	
SZOVJET IRODALOM, Budapest, 1975	11,000		
4. Periodicals Publishing Plays			
SZINHAI, Budapest, 1968	2,500		
5. Periodicals on History of Literature, Aesthetics and Criticism			
HELIKON, Budapest, 1964	1,100	NOWE KSIAZKI, Krakow, 1951 (book reviews)	20,000
IRODALOMTORTENET, Budapest, 1912, 1969	1,900	RUCH LITERACKI, Krakow, 1960	1,700
KRITIKA, Budapest, 1963, 1972	13,000	PAMIETNIK LITERACKI, Wroclaw, 1902	1,500
LITERATURA, Budapest, 1974	900		
6. Hungarian-Language (a) Weeklies and (b) Other Periodicals Published Abroad			

ROMANIA		YUGOSLAVIA	
Serbo-Croatian		e	
Population	18.5 million	14 million	
<b>1. Literary and Social Weeklies</b>			
LUCEAFARUL, Bucharest, 1958 (literary criticism, cultural, political)	100,000	KNJIZEVNA REC, Belgrade, 1972 (fortnightly, literary criticism)	
ROMANIA LITERARA, Bucharest, 1954 (literary criticism)	20,000	KNJIZEVNE NOVINE, Belgrade, 1948 (fortnightly, literary criticism, social)	7,000
ORIZONT, Timisoara, 1949 (literary, social, political)	5,000	OKO, Zagreb, 1972 (literary, social fortnightly)	
TRIBUNA, Cluj, 1884 (literary, social, political)	10,000	ODJEK, Sarajevo, 1951 (literary, social fortnightly)	
CONTEMPORANUL, Bucharest, 1946 (social, political, cultural)	30,000	NIN, Belgrade, 1941 (social, political, cultural)	140,000
FLACARA, Bucharest, 1952 (illustrated social, political, cultural)	230,000		
<b>2. Literary and Social Monthlies, Bimonthlies and Quarterlies</b>			
AMFITEATRU, Bucharest, 1966 (literature, art)	4,000	DELO, Belgrade, 1953 (literary criticism, aesthetics)	1,200
VIAATA ROMANEASCA, Bucharest, 1906 (literary criticism)	2,500	SAVREMENIK, Belgrade, 1955 (literary criticism)	
ASTRA, Brasov, 1966 (literary, social, cultural)	5,500	DANAS, Zagreb, 1982 (literary, social)	
ATENEU, Bacau, 1964 (literary, social, political)	2,500	FORUM, Zagreb, 1962 (literary criticism)	
CONVORBIRI LITERARE, Iasi, 1867, 1970 (literary criticism)	2,500	REPUBLIKA, Zagreb, 1945 (literary criticism)	3,000
RAMURI, Craiova, 1964 (literary criticism)	3,000	MOGUCNOST, Split, 1954 (literary criticism)	
STEUA, Cluj, 1953 (literary criticism)	3,000	PUTEVI, Banja Luka, 1955 (literary criticism)	
TRANSILVANIA, Sibiu, 1968 (political, cultural)	2,000	REVIJA, Osijek, 1961 (literary, social)	
VATRA, Targu-Mures, 1971 (social, cultural)	3,000	RUKOVET, Subotica, 1955 (literary, social)	
		STRAVANJE, Titograd, 1946 (literary, cultural)	2,000
<b>3. Periodicals on World Literature</b>			
SECOLUL 20, Bucharest, 1961		MOSTOVI, Belgrade, 1970	1,500
		KNJIZEVNA SMOTRA, Zagreb, 1969	1,500
<b>4. Periodicals Publishing Plays</b>			
TEATROL, Bucharest, 1952			
<b>5. Periodicals on History of Literature, Aesthetics and Criticism</b>			
CAIETE CRITICE, Bucharest, 1977		KNJIZEVNA ISTORIJA, Belgrade, 1969	
		KNJIZEVNA KRITIKA, Belgrade 1970	
		KNJIZEVNOST, Belgrade, 1945	1,500
		LETOPIŠ MATICE SRPSKE, Novi Sad, 1825	
<b>6. Hungarian-Language (a) Weeklies and (b) Other Periodicals Published Abroad</b>			
(a)		(a)	
UTUNK, Cluj, 1946 (literary criticism)	3,500	7 NAP, Subotica, 1945 (social, political, cultural)	
BRASSOI LAPOK, Brasov, 1969 (social, political, cultural)	9,000	(b)	
A HET, Bucharest, 1970 (social, political, cultural)	11,000	HID, Novi Sad, 1934 (literary criticism)	
(b)		UJ SYMPOSIUM, Novi Sad, 1965 (literary, artistic)	
IGAZ SZO, Targu-Mures, 1953 (literary criticism)	5,000	UZENET, Subotica, 1971 (literary, social)	
KORUNK, Cluj, 1945 (literary, social, political)		LETUNK, Novi Sad, 1970 (sociopolitical, cultural)	

	RSFSR Russian	SOVIET UNION	UKRAINIAN SSR Ukrainian
Population	115 million	137.5 million	35.5 million

### 1. Literary and Social Weeklies

LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, Moscow, 1929 (lit. criticism, cultural policy)	2.5x10 <sup>6</sup>	Literaturna Ukraina, Kiev, 1927, 1962 (literary criticism)	
LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA, Moscow, 1963 (literary criticism)			
OGONEK, Moscow, 1923 (illustrated social, political, cultural)	2.0x10 <sup>6</sup>		

### 2. Literary and Social Monthlies, Bimonthlies and Quarterlies

DRUZHBA NARODOV, Moscow, 1955 (review of USSR literatures other than Russian)	240,000	DNIPRO, Kiev, 1927 (literary criticism, a forum for young authors)	80,000
YUNOSTI, Moscow, 1957 (literary, cultural journal for young authors)	3.0x10 <sup>6</sup>	KIEV, Kiev, 1983 (literary, cultural)	
LITERATURNAYA UCHEBA, Moscow, 1930, 1978 (literary criticism, history, science)	25,000	POEZIYA, Kiev, 1968 (literary criticism, aesthetics)	8,000
MOSKVA, Moscow, 1957 (literary, cultural)	490,000	VITCHIZNA, Kiev, 1933 (literary, social, cultural)	25,000
NASH SOVREMENNİK, Moscow, 1964 (social, political)	335,000	DONBASS, Donetsk, 1923, 1958 (literary, social)	
NOVYY MIR, Moscow, 1925 (literary criticism)	350,000	PRAPOR, Kharkov, 1956 (literary, social)	11,000
OKTYABR, Moscow, 1924 (literary, cultural)	220,000	ZHOVTEN', Lvov, 1952 (literary, social)	19,000
ZNAMYA, Moscow, 1931 (literary cultural)	170,000		
AVRORA, Leningrad, 1969 (literary, cultural)	160,000		
NEVA, Leningrad, 1955 (literary criticism)	330,000		
ZVEZDA, Leningrad (literary, social, political)	115,000		
DALNIY VOSTOK, Khabarovsk, 1933 (literary, social, political)			
DON, Rostov, 1957 (literary, cultural)	77,000		
POD'YEM, Voronezh, 1957 (literary, cultural)	10,000		
SEVER, Petrozavodsk, 1965 (literary, cultural)	21,000		
SIBIR', Irkutsk, 1930 (literary, social, political)	12,000		
SIBIRSKIYE OGNI, Novosibirsk (literary criticism)	100,000		
URAL, Sverdlovsk, 1958 (literary, cultural)	80,000		
VOLGA, Saratov, 1966 (literary, cultural)	35,000		

### 3. Periodicals on World Literature

INOSTRANNAYA LITERATURA, Moscow, 1955	520,000	VSESUIT, Kiev, 1925, 1958	55,000
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### 4. Periodicals Publishing Plays

TEATR, Moscow, 1937, 1945	32,000
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### 5. Periodicals on History of Literature, Aesthetics and Criticism

LITERATURNOYE OBOZRENIYE, Moscow, 1973 (review of literature)	30,000	RADYANSKE LITERATUROZNAVSTVO, Kiev, 1965 (Soviet literary science)	2,500
V MIRE KNIG, Moscow, 1966 (book reviews)	75,000	UKRAINSKE LITERATUROZNAVSTVO, Lvov, 1949 (Ukrainian literary science)	1,000
VOPROSY LITERATURY, Moscow, 1957	25,000		
VESTNIK MOSKOVSKOGO UNIVERSITETA, Seriya 9, FILOLOGIYA, Moscow, 1946			
RUSSKAYA LITERATURA, Leningrad, 1958	15,000		

SOVIET UNION (continued)

Russian

Ukrainian

6. Hungarian-Language (a) Weeklies and (b) Other Periodicals Published Abroad  
(a)

NEON, Uzhgorod, 1977

(Separate literary and cultural supplement to the daily KARPATI IGAZ SZO)

LENDULET, Uzhgorod, 1977

(Separate literary supplement to the daily KARPATI IGAZ SZO, with works by young writers)

1014

CSO: 2500/169

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

PZPR BRIEFS SOVIET MEDIA--On the 14th of this month a meeting was held in the PZPR Central Committee between candidate member of the Politburo and Central Committee Secretary Jan Glowczyk, and Soviet press, agency, radio and television correspondents accredited in Poland. During the meeting they spoke of the course of celebrations of the 67th anniversary of the October Revolution in our country, the systematically expanding cooperation between Polish and Soviet journalists, tasks associated with the 40th anniversary of victory over German fascism, and other matters. The director of the Press, Radio and Television Department of the Central Committee, Bogdan Jachacz, took part in the meeting. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15 Nov 84 p 2] 6806

CZECH, POLISH PARTY CONTACTS--Candidate member of the Politburo and PZPR Central Committee Secretary Wlodzimierz Mokrzyaszczak welcomed a delegation to Poland at the invitation of the PZPR Central Committee on the 15th of this month. It was headed by the deputy director of the Economic Department of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, Viteslav Moudry. The talk concerned matters of cooperation and an exchange of central committee experience in the area of intraparty economic improvement. Antoni Gorny, the director of the General Department of the Central Committee, participated in the talk. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16 Nov 84 p 4] 6806

BAKA IN BULGARIA--A Polish delegation has been in Sofia with a member of the Government Presidium, Minister Wladyslaw Baka, plenipotentiary of the government on matters of economic reform. It was welcomed by a member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the BPC [Bulgarian Communist Party] and the first vice chairman, Chudomir Aleksandrov. There were also talks with candidate member of the BPC Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the State Planning Committee Stanish Bonev, and BPC Central Committee Secretary Emil Khristov. The Polish delegation was welcomed by BPC Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Bulgarian People's Republic Grisha Filipov. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16 Nov 84 p 7] 6806

EDUCATION DELEGATION IN CHINA--A delegation of the Ministry of Science, Higher Education and Technology has been in the PRC under the leadership of Deputy Minister Prof Dr Stanislaw Nowacki. They agreed on and signed a plan of cooperation in the field of science and higher education between the PRL and



the PRC for 1985-1986. The plan anticipates an exchange of students, doctoral candidates and scientific workers between Chinese and Polish institutions. Present at the signing of the plan of cooperation on the 15th of this month were the PRC minister of education, He Dongchang, and the deputy minister of foreign affairs, Qian Qichen. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16 Nov 84 p 7] 6806

CSO: 2600/221

BULGARIA

PARTY DAILY ON YALTA ANNIVERSARY

AU061544 Sofia ROBITNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 4 Feb 85 p 6

[Article by Atanas Atanasov, Moscow correspondent: "The Irrevocable Slogan of the Yalta Conference: "Understanding the Cooperation--The 40th Anniversary of the Conference of the 'Big Three' in the Crimea"]

[Text] "...Our conference has once again confirmed our common resolve to preserve and consolidate this unity of goals and actions, which makes the victory of the united nations in contemporary war possible and undoubted, also during the coming period of peace."

"...It is our irrevocable goal to destroy German militarism and Nazism, and to establish the guarantee that Germany will never again be capable of disrupting universal peace."

"...We have compiled and signed a declaration which envisages the coordination of the policy and economic problems of liberated Europe in conformity with democratic principles."

"...We have decided to establish as soon as possible together with our allies a joint international organization to maintain peace and security."

The above cited paragraphs are excerpts from the communique on the results of the conference attended by the leaders of the USSR, the United States of America and Great Britain and held from 4 to 10 February in Yalta, on the Crimean Black Sea coast. These excerpts on their own are capable of explaining why the name of this Soviet Black Sea resort has gone down in history as a synonym for the possibility of understanding and cooperation based on equal rights among states with different socioeconomic systems.

A New Era in Diplomatic Hopes

It is a universally recognized fact that the constructive spirit and the striving for unity of action in solving the military and political problems facing the anti-Hitlerite coalition were typical of the Yalta conference. The considerably distant poles of world outlook and interests of the participants in the conference came "closer together," thanks to sober political common sense and the common will to defeat the spirit of evil symbolized by the swastika.

Today, 4 decades after the meeting of the "big three" in Yalta, it is very interesting to recall some of the evaluations of the time. At the end of February 1944 Churchill stated in the House of Commons: "The meeting in the Crimea shows that the allies are united as never before on military and political questions.... My impression from Yalta and from all my other contacts is that Marshal Stalin and the Soviet leaders would like to live in honorable friendship and on the basis of equal rights with the Western democracies.... I do not know any other government that adheres more firmly to its obligations, even when it is to its disadvantage, than the Soviet Government." After 3 days of debate the House of Commons unanimously adopted a resolution which is expressed in the following statement: "We approve the declaration of the three great powers for a joint policy adopted at the Crimea Conference.... We particularly welcome the resolve of the three great powers to preserve unity of action in the interest of the final defeat of the common enemy, as well as in the interest of the preservation of the unity that existed during the war and that should exist during the postwar period of peace."

The U.S. Congress adopted a similar stand. The speaker who reported on the conference was President Roosevelt and he expressly emphasized the "unprecedented unity of the allies." He went on to say: "We expressed our views freely and frankly. At the end of the negotiations we adopted a unanimous decision on all questions. And what is most important--we reached an agreement and unanimity of thoughts on the manner in which we will live together in the future." John Foster Dulles, who later on was the head of the "General Staff" during the "cold war" that was subsequently declared by Churchill against the USSR and the people's democratic countries, exclaimed at that time: "The Yalta conference opened up a new era in diplomatic hopes!"

#### In Conformity With the Strategy of Anticommunism

It is a well-known fact that as early as before the final end of World War II, these evaluations and all facts determining their correctness were forgotten by the imperialist propaganda. The true meaning of the political concept of "Yalta" was subjected to purposeful and deliberate falsifications on the part of numerous politicians and historians, and on the part of the supporters of bourgeois ideology. It was Washington, precisely, and President Truman, the successor of the deceased President Roosevelt, in particular, who set the tone of this campaign. The new master of the White House declared "a firm stand in negotiations and resolute language as the most sensible strategy in our present relations with Russia." The previously conducted policy of cooperation with the USSR was denounced and explained by "the disability in mind and body of Roosevelt, who had betrayed the national interests of the United States." People in the imperialist world are still propagating the explanation that the "misfortunes" stemming from the Yalta decisions are due to the spirit of compromise and to the mistakes that were allowed to occur by Roosevelt and Churchill in their negotiations with Stalin.

Since the very beginning of "cold war" until today the efforts to refute the meaning and essence of the Yalta agreements and to adapt them to the strategic goals of anticommunism, have not ceased. These attempts are an essential part

of the crusade against the USSR and the socialist countries conducted today. On the eve of the 40th anniversary of the historic victory over Hitlerism and fascism, Washington launched a new interpretation of the "inheritance of Yalta." The United States does not renounce this legacy. On the contrary, it has adopted and understands the agreements of the "big three" as a "natural obligation of the great powers," but as also a "commitment to restore the full independence and grant democratic elections to all countries liberated from Nazism as a result of war." The notorious Zbigniew Brzezinski assumed the task of clarifying as follows: "Yalta, this is unfinished history.... Yalta must become the past of Europe, if we do not want it to become Europe's future." In the same spirit he recommends that "political and military prerequisites should be created, likely to create conditions for the peaceful dismemberment of Yalta, instead of perpetuating the division of Europe."

As a matter of fact, similar naive interpretations and recommendations are by no means new. I stress the word "naive" because they are inspired and permeated by the illusion that the historical achievements of the European peoples should be liquidated, achievements that were made under the conditions of the political status quo that emerged as a result of World War II, whose model was mapped out in Yalta

#### Lessons for All Peoples and Countries

The Yalta agreements were not the cause, but the result of a long series of important events which objectively necessitated essential changes on the political map of our ancient continent. When Roosevelt and Churchill negotiated with Stalin, the Soviet army had already crushed the backbone of the "invincible" Hitler army. In a number of East European and central European countries power had already been transferred to the working people. A new balance of forces already existed in reality and drastic socioeconomic changes had occurred in Europe. These changes were merely established "in writing and on paper" at Yalta, and later, at the Potsdam Conference. One of the British participants in the Yalta negotiations, Lord Goldwin, very correctly described the situation in stating that with or without Yalta the results would have been the same, because history proceeds along its own course.

Whenever we consider the events of history that have occurred in the last 40 years we cannot fail to note the influence of Yalta in the basic, positive trends of the international development. The decisions of the "big three" were definitely confirmed by bilateral agreements among a number of states, thanks to which legal, international recognition was granted to the political and territorial realities following World War II. This created a favorable basis for the further development of relations among different countries and peoples, based on the principles of peaceful coexistence. Thus, we achieved the Helsinki Final Act at the CSCE Conference in 1975.

We cannot fail to notice, either, that whenever Washington has shown a tendency to take into consideration the principles that in the past have stimulated and sealed the unity of action among the states of the anti-Hitler coalition in the struggle against fascist Germany, mutually acceptable

agreements have become possible and mutually advantageous relations could be achieved, and last but not least--even detente of the political atmosphere on a worldwide scale could be achieved. In the opposite case--the violation of these principles and the striving to achieve superiority over the USSR, as well as to obtain one-sided advantages--have always produced tension, not only in Soviet-American relations, but in international relations as a whole.

The 40th anniversary of the Yalta Conference is a good opportunity to recall these successes and once more to recall the lessons contained in the appeal of the "big three," which reads as follows: "Only through the irrevocable development of cooperation and mutual understanding among our three countries and among all peace-loving peoples is it possible to implement mankind's noblest aspiration--a durable and long-lasting peace."

CSO: 2200/103

BULGARIA

ROLE OF BULGARIAN TURKS DURING 1944-1948 PERIOD

Sofia ISTORICHESKI PREGLED in Bulgarian No 4, 1984 pp 59-83

[Article by Yusein Memishev: "Bulgarian Turks in the Struggle for Strengthening the People's Democratic System (1944-1948)"]

[Text] The Bulgarian Turks are a specific historical given which appeared as a result of complex social and ethnic processes and developed through the centuries under Bulgarian conditions, for which reason they are an inseparable part of the Bulgarian people. It is no accident that some Bulgarian Turks linked their happiness and well-being with the struggles waged by the Bulgarian people even during the period of Ottoman yoke.<sup>1</sup> The democratic views of the Bulgarian Renaissance men and revolutionaries on the future system of Bulgaria free of Ottoman yoke, in which all citizens would be equal, regardless of nationality and religion, influenced their rapprochement with the Bulgarian people to an even greater extent.

Whereas before the liberation the roots of such relations between them should be sought in the influence which democratic views exerted on Bulgarian national revolutionaries, subsequent to the liberation the Bulgarian Communist Party played a decisive role in this respect. It was the only political force in the country which raised the working people in a spirit of proletarian internationalism and protected their interests. This protection was double: on the one hand, the party struggled against exploitation and plunder; on the other, it fought nationalism, chauvinism and ethnic discrimination which was pursued by the bourgeoisie and the fascist reaction in the country.

The BCP looked upon the Bulgarian Turks as an ally in the struggle, as an indivisible part of the toiling Bulgarian people, who could struggle for the defeat of fascism and capitalism. Despite many difficulties, it pursued a constant and consistent policy of involving them in the common struggle waged by the Bulgarian people against fascism and capitalism. "We, left-wing socialists," V. Kolarov wrote as early as 1919, "have not been guided in our propaganda and organization by racial, national or religious considerations. As convinced supporters of an internationalist program and firm supporters of a pure class struggle, we have turned to all working people in Bulgaria regardless of ethnicity. We have involved them in our organizations and called upon them to join in the common struggle against capitalism and capitalist domination."<sup>2</sup>



Such consistent ideological and organizational work by the BCP was a vivid manifestation of its class proletarian nature and its aspiration to resolve the problems of the proletarian revolution by unifying all toiling strata under the leadership of the working class and raise the mass army of the socialist revolution.

The tremendous amount of extensive work done by the party among the Bulgarian Turks yielded positive results. A considerable percentage of them joined in the struggle waged by the Bulgarian people against fascism and capitalism and for democracy and socialism. Excluded in this struggle were manifestations of nationalism, anti-Semitism and racism. In the course of the struggle the class solidarity, friendship and mutual aid among toiling Bulgarians, Turks, Jews, Armenians and others strengthened. The party's policy of developing true class relations was proved through action. This joint struggle waged by the working people under the leadership of the BCP and with the decisive help of the Soviet Army ended with the overthrow of the bourgeois rule and the establishment of a people's democratic regime on 9 September 1944.

Relations among working people in Bulgaria were established on a new basis with the advent of the people's democratic regime. Its common objective was to build socialism, for the sake of which the BCP developed comprehensive activities to convert the Bulgarian Turks into conscious and active builders of socialism, together with the entire Bulgarian people. Through its participation in building socialism, alongside the remaining working people, this population assumed a proper place in the most recent history of our country. Their modest contribution has still not been closely studied by our historical science.

The purpose of this article is to describe the activities of the BCP in involving the Bulgarian Turks in the struggle waged by the entire people for the assertion and strengthening of the people's democratic regime (1944-1948) and upgrading their sociopolitical activeness.

Following the victory of the socialist revolution, the BCP continued to pursue its firm policy of unifying all working people in the struggle for the revolutionary reorganization of social life. This profoundly scientific Marxist-Leninist policy became the state line and policy after the revolution. Its principles were specifically manifested in the programmatic declaration issued by the first Fatherland Front government on 17 September 1944. It proclaimed the most important principles of the domestic and foreign policy of the new system and its forthcoming tasks.<sup>3</sup>

In the spirit of the programmatic declaration, the people's regime immediately undertook the implementation of a number of specific measures aimed at the democratization of all areas of social life, thus enabling the people's masses to feel that this was their own system, and to understand its nature, character and prospects. This was needed particularly in the case of the Bulgarian Turks, for the persecutions and degradations to which they had been subjected during the former bourgeois and fascist regimes had influenced their mentality to such an extent that for a while most of them "were still afraid" and were unable to understand and feel the change which had taken place in the

country's political life. Everything possible had to be done for "this population to feel that it was under the roof of Bulgaria as under its own and to join efforts with those of the Bulgarian people in building a strong, powerful and democratic Fatherland Front Bulgaria, as its true homeland."<sup>4</sup> This "required," as RABOTNICHESKO DELO wrote, "the abrogation of all restrictive laws and regulations inherited from the fascist system, which turned the Turkish population into second-class citizens. Full political and economic equality had to be established."<sup>5</sup>

The resolutions of the 8th BCP Central Committee Plenum, which was held between 27 February and 1 March 1945, also emphasized the need to establish full equality between Bulgarian Turks and the other ethnic groups.<sup>6</sup> This was confirmed in a number of other party documents of a programmatic nature. They included the Leninist concepts of equality, abolishment of all and any national and national-religious privileges, and the free and all-round development of all working people in the country. This problem was extensively discussed at the national conference which the aktiv of the Fatherland Front conducted among Bulgarian Turks, organized by the Fatherland Front National Committee on 27 and 28 December 1944, and at the conference of the party aktiv working among this population, held by the BCP Central Committee on 9 and 10 February 1945.<sup>7</sup> Thoughts were exchanged on how to work among the Turkish population "in order to rescue it from the nightmare in which it had lived for decades and from a position of denigration, insults and underestimating on the part of the former rulers and governments..., from a position of rightlessness...and from political darkness and disinterestedness..., so that every Turk who is an honest antifascist and lives in Bulgaria may feel that Bulgaria is his homeland and that it is here that he will build his best future."<sup>8</sup> Exceptionally important problems were discussed, relative to the economic, political and cultural status of Bulgarian Turks, and the most urgent steps and tasks to be carried out in the immediate future were earmarked.

In the spirit of the party's instructions, the organs of the people's regime began to pass regulations and laws abolishing the old laws or purging them from the elements of discrimination; the new laws were drafted in a spirit of international policy pursued by the people's government.

The directive-law abolishing restrictions imposed on individuals of non-Bulgarian origin was ratified on 27 November 1944. It revoked all laws, decrees and other legal acts and instructions which restricted or deprived of their rights ethnic groups in one area or another.<sup>9</sup> The implementation of this directive was of great importance in guaranteeing the rights and freedoms of citizens who are members of ethnic groups, including Bulgarian Turks.

The Law on the Defense of the People's Regime was enacted on 17 March 1945. It guaranteed and protected the rights of the citizens against any kind of ethnic discrimination. One of its articles stipulated that any preaching, praise or approval of racial hatred, under whatever manner, was to be punished.<sup>10</sup> The Directive-Law Amending and Supplementing the Articles of the Law on Public Education was passed on 10 May 1945. It granted Turkish teachers the right to pension the same as their Bulgarian colleagues. The Directive-Law on the Election of People's Representatives to the National

Assembly was promulgated in June 1945. It granted electoral rights to women, young people and soldiers regardless of ethnic origin or religious faith.

The directive-law on equality between the sexes, which was passed immediately after the 9 September victory, was of historical and revolutionary significance to the Bulgarian Turks. It proclaimed full equality between men and women, "in all areas of economic, state, cultural and sociopolitical life."<sup>11</sup> This law struck the first decisive blow at the old religious attitude toward Turkish women and offered extensive opportunities for their active participation in all fields of life alongside men.

In the economic area, the most urgent task to be resolved immediately for the Bulgarian Turks was meeting the needs of the tremendous majority of that population (particularly in the Rodopi area) for most vital goods, above all bread and clothing, the elimination of epidemic centers of scabies, typhoid fever, etc., and providing employment. As early as April 1945 the Fatherland Front National Committee considered the situation of the population in settlements inhabited by Bulgarian Turks and suggested to the government to take energetic steps to meet its most urgent needs.<sup>12</sup> In the spirit of these decisions an extensive project of aiding and normalizing the lives of the Bulgarian Turks was organized.

From 1944 to 1948 aid was given to 492 families, victims of floods and other natural disasters, totaling 48,701,608 leva (old rate); 320 families in need of urgent assistance, totaling 3,504,400 leva; 424 families, victims of the war on fascism, totaling 7,690,100 leva, etc. The Bulgarian Red Cross granted 6,488,490 leva for meeting the needs of poor families for shoes, clothing and other supplies. The sum of 10,178,560 leva was allocated to protect this population from typhoid fever and for the procurement of pharmaceuticals and hygiene materials. Tremendous efforts were made to assign medical cadres to these areas.

On 18 May 1945 the government abolished discriminatory articles in the then law on large families and equalized their rights regardless of ethnic origin. On the basis of this new law, the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare granted 210 million leva to 3,500 large families of Bulgarian Turks.<sup>13</sup>

Fruitful work was also done by the sessions of the 26th Regular National Assembly in 1945 and 1946. A number of laws were passed (on the confiscation of illegally acquired wealth, the general income tax, social insurance, state tobacco monopoly), which were fully consistent with the interests and requirements of all working people, including the Bulgarian Turks. The Law on Tobacco Monopoly, for example, settled once and for all the problem of equitable purchases of tobacco sold by the entire population in the Rodopi, including Bulgarian Turks, and blocked all possibilities of robbing that population. The state adopted a policy of active aid to tobacco producers, consisting of technical advice, cash advances, loans, inexpensive seeds, fertilizers and various preparations. Tobacco producers were given a variety of bonuses, flour, animal feed, etc.

The law on ownership of worked land, which was passed by the National Assembly in April 1946, was of major importance to the Bulgarian Turks. The toiling



peasants-Bulgarian Turks approved and supported its implementation. This support was further strengthened by the fact that the law gave the right to acquire land, along with the remaining toiling peasants, to thousands of poor and landless Turkish peasants. By the end of 1948, on the basis of this law, 25,000 Bulgarian Turkish farmers who were either landless or had little land were given land and more than 20,000 were given homes.<sup>14</sup>

In June 1946 the National Assembly revoked the discriminatory stipulation in the Law on Agricultural Pensions, according to which toiling Turks were deprived of the right to pension, thus ensuring full pension equality. After the amendment was passed, more than 30,000 Bulgarian Turkish peasants were immediately granted agricultural pensions.<sup>15</sup>

The people's democratic regime paid particular attention to the legislative formulation of the necessary conditions for the development of schooling and surmounting the cultural and educational backwardness of Bulgarian Turks. On 27 September 1946 the National Assembly passed a special law on the reorganization of the schooling of Bulgarian Turks. This enabled the then-existing private Turkish schools to become public schools and to acquire equal status with the people's schools, supported by the respective administrative municipalities. The wages and other monetary awards to teachers and administrative personnel were to be paid by the state, as was the case with the public schools. With the conversion of the private Turkish schools into state schools, within the framework of the program drafted by the Ministry of Public Education, the problem of the material upkeep and personnel of Turkish schools was resolved. This historical document stipulated the mandatory and free training of children between the ages of 7 and 15. A number of transitional stipulations equitably settled the status of the teachers who had taught in the private Turkish schools, ensuring the protection of their rights, etc.<sup>16</sup>

In addition to these laws, many other ukases, ordinances and other legal acts were passed by many other ministries and state bodies, eliminating the restrictions imposed by the former bourgeois and fascist regimes toward Bulgarian Turks and the remaining ethnic groups.<sup>17</sup> It was thus that the BCP and the people's regime put an end to the nationalistic-chauvinistic policy of the Bulgarian bourgeoisie and its accomplices. The 1947 constitution codified and guaranteed once and for all the freedom and equality of all citizens regardless of ethnic origin, faith and language.

The abolishment of all fascist racist laws and the establishment of true legal equality of Bulgarian Turks in all fields of life created favorable conditions for the development of their political activeness. However, a number of factors continued to hinder this process, such as a feeling of separation and alienation and ethnic mistrust, inherited from the discriminatory policy of the former fascist regimes. Furthermore, forces operated among the Bulgarian Turks, who were not pleased with the outcome of the Bulgarian political crisis. Most of them were members of the big and even some elements of the middle bourgeoisie among the Bulgarian Turks, whose only conclusion based on the development of the events in the country was the need to fight for the imminent restoration of capitalism.

A strong nationalistic movement existed among the Bulgarian Turks as well. Nationalism and Turkism had sunk deep roots among petit bourgeois strata of the Turkish population. Bearing in mind the difficult conditions for the restoration of normal life in the country, and assisted by foreign reaction, the nationalistic elements actively worked to alienate the Bulgarian Turks from building a new society. Some Bulgarian Turks supported or were members of parties within the Fatherland Front, such as the BCP, the BZNS [Bulgarian Agrarian National Union], the SDP [Social Democratic Party], the Zveno Political Circle, the Radical Party and bourgeois opposition groups.

The prevailing situation demanded the paying of close attention in resolving a number of sensitive problems facing the Bulgarian Turks. It was on this basis that the BCP began to develop extensive organizational and political activities among the toiling Turks, for the sake of their mass involvement with the people's regime and the life of their district, village or city, and in building people's democratic Bulgaria.

Suitable organizational ways and means had to be used by the BCP in guiding and directing activities in order to enhance the sociopolitical activeness and strengthen the party's influence among Bulgarian Turks. That is why, immediately after the victory of the revolution, the party focused its attention on the extensive utilization of existing ethnic cultural-educational, sports and benevolent societies of Bulgarian Turks.<sup>18</sup> It is worth noting that the party did not call for the dismantling of such societies but set as its task the ideological restructuring and conversion into centers for the reeducation of this population. Party commissions and party aktivs were set up in most of them, with the task of implementing the party's line and instructions. It was on their initiative that the first three meetings were organized at which reactionary and fascist elements were purged of their leadership. Soon afterwards, however, life confirmed the inexpediency of their autonomous and isolated functioning. The decision to merge these cultural and educational, benevolent and other societies with nationwide organizations was made at the February 1945 conference of the party aktiv working among Bulgarian Turks. This had a beneficial influence on rallying the Turkish population in the struggle for strengthening the people's democratic regime.<sup>19</sup>

During these initial years after the BCP emerged from clandestinity and took power its organizational growth and strengthening took place. It was joined by thousands of workers, toiling peasants and artisans, who had sympathized with it and helped it in the struggle against fascism and were prepared to continue to work for the triumph of its great cause. This was very necessary, for under the new circumstances the party could efficiently play the role of leader only by developing its organizations everywhere and become a mass party. In order to strengthen its influence and authority among Bulgarian Turks even further, it adopted the same policy of developing a thick network of party organizations in settlements inhabited by Bulgarian Turks and recruiting for party membership a significant number of the most worthy and honest representatives of this population.

The okoliya and oblast party conferences which were held toward the end of 1944 and the national party conference of February 1945 of party members

working among Bulgarian Turks played a major role in the implementation of this party line. In these conferences a frank discussion was held on the difficulties which the country had to surmount through the joint efforts of the entire nation. The efforts of reactionary forces to use existing difficulties in erecting obstacles to strengthening the people's regime were exposed and the working people were called upon to rally around the BCP and the Fatherland Front. Involving the working Turks within the BCP and the other sociopolitical and mass organizations was set as the prime task of the party members.<sup>20</sup>

It was on the basis of this main task that the local party organizations and the okoliya party committees organized thousands of individual meetings and talks, gatherings and conferences with Bulgarian Turks to explain the policy and program of the party and the Fatherland Front.<sup>21</sup> As a result of such extensive explanatory activities, a wide network of party organizations was established within a short time in settlements inhabited by Bulgarian Turks. By the end of 1946 they had a membership of 21,428 working Turks; at the beginning of 1947 membership had reached 30,997.<sup>22</sup> Their oblast breakdown was different (Table 1).<sup>23</sup>

Table 1--Number of Bulgarian Turk BCP Members by Oblast in 1946-1947

<u>No</u>	<u>Oblast</u>	<u>January- March 1946</u>	<u>31 March 1947</u>
1	Stara Zagora	6,784	10,409
2	Varna	5,666	8,823
3	Ruse	6,619	7,805
4	Plovdiv	814	1,492
5	Pleven	830	1,332
6	Burgas	438	737
7	Vratsa	178	232
8	Gorna Dzhumaya	85	144
9	Sofia	14	23
Total		21,428	30,997

In the first years following the victory of the revolution, however, as a result of insufficient organizational and political experience of the party organizations, in a number of areas the acceptance of BCP members was not subject to any particular selection and was largely uncontrolled.<sup>24</sup> Violations of the rule of class approach and strict individual selection allowed a considerable number of honest but illiterate and strongly religious working Turks to join the party organizations in settlements inhabited by Bulgarian Turks. A number of kulaks and nationalistic elements joined as well, frequently on the instructions of reactionary and hostile centers. Some of them, being better educated, were even appointed to responsible positions as party secretaries, members of okoliya committees, etc., through hypocritical and demagogic means.<sup>25</sup> For that reason the primary party organizations in some settlements inhabited by Bulgarian Turks were unable at that point to fulfill their vanguard role.<sup>26</sup> The party committees waged an irreconcilable struggle to surmount this situation and purge themselves of



alien and careeristic elements and for ensuring their organizational and ideological-political strengthening.<sup>27</sup>

Minority commissions, consisting of three to five party members, were set up in some oblast and okoliya party committees to provide specific aid of the party organizations in settlements inhabited by Bulgarian Turks.<sup>28</sup> As operative organs, they helped the party committees and organizations in developing means of practical implementation of party assignments based on specific local conditions. At the same time, they supervised the implementation of decisions, helped in the selection, promotion and upbringing of cadres and work for the successful implementation of the party's political, economic and cultural initiatives.

In 1946 special educational commissions were set up under some oblast and okoliya party and Fatherland Front committees, as part of the agitation and propaganda departments. They took specific steps and developed extensive activities to ensure the availability of Marxist publications and propaganda materials for political education and agitation-explanatory work among Bulgarian Turks.<sup>29</sup> They helped to organize okoliya and center conferences of the intelligentsia with the local agitation groups with the local agitation groups. They helped to organize public meetings on the domestic and international situation of the country, the situation of the Bulgarian Turks in the past and after the victory of the 9 September uprising, and a number of other topical political and economic problems.<sup>30</sup>

The BCP took serious steps to upgrade the ideological-theoretical training of the party aktiv in order to ensure the proper organization of political and ideological work among Bulgarian Turks. Hundreds of Turkish activists were sent to central, oblast and rayon party schools. Special short courses for Turkish activists were organized at some of the schools as early as 1945-1946, offering specific studies such as "The Fatherland Front Committees (Structure and Functions)," "The Fatherland Front and Minorities," "Principles and Nature of the Party," "The BRP(k) in the Countryside," "The Party's Economic Program," "What Does the Party Demand of the Communists?" "Industrialization and Collectivization," etc.<sup>31</sup> Having realized their importance, by instruction of the party's Central Committee, party courses were organized for Turkish activists in Ruse, Shumen and Kurdzhali at the beginning of 1947. The Fatherland Front and RMS organizations as well organized such courses.<sup>32</sup> They trained the initial cadres of toiling Turks. With Circular No 26 of 1947, the BCP Central Committee made it incumbent upon the local committees to develop special agitation groups consisting of these initial cadres, to engage in extensive mass explanatory work among working Turkish men and women.<sup>33</sup> In August 1947 the party's Central Committee issued a special letter to the oblast party committees in Ruse, Varna, Stara Zagora, Burgas and Pleven, drawing their attention to the need to improve mass political work among Bulgarian Turks and to upgrade their sociopolitical activeness.<sup>34</sup>

In accordance with these party documents, the local committees and activists explained the policy of the party and the people's regime among Bulgarian Turks. The low cultural and educational standards of Turkish party members and the entire Turkish population at that time required mainly the use of

talks, informal gatherings, meetings, people's fairs, etc., to be the predominant forms of political work.

Along with increasing the size and strengthening the party organizations and promoting their varied political activities, the BCP ascribed great importance to organizing and energizing the Fatherland Front committees in Bulgarian Turkish settlements. Under the guidance and with the active participation of the party members, they were assigned to perform the functions of the people's regime and to contribute to unifying the Bulgarian Turks within the political and economic life of the country.<sup>35</sup>

The Fatherland Front committees also faced major tasks in exposing the attempts of reactionary forces and foreign agents to promote disturbances and restlessness among Bulgarian Turks. Such individuals had to be exposed as being their enemies who were unwilling to allow this population to participate in building a truly joyful and happy life for the entire Bulgarian people. In assessing the tremendous role which the Fatherland Front committees played in upgrading the political activeness of Bulgarian Turks, the BCP Central Committee called upon that population "to rally around the Fatherland Front committees and to participate in their work along with the rest of the Bulgarian citizens."<sup>36</sup> The oblast and okoliya committees worked extensively to implement this task of prime importance. Above all, they pay great attention to strengthening the okoliya Fatherland Front committees with cadres loyal to the people. They developed and hired professional and voluntary personnel consisting of Turkish men and women, who were willing to learn from their Bulgarian comrades and, together with them, to draw into active political life the toiling Bulgarian Turks.<sup>37</sup>

Under the guidance of the oblast and okoliya party and Fatherland Front committees and with the help of democratic and antifascist Turks, Fatherland Front committees were organized in villages inhabited by Bulgarian Turks immediately after the 9 September people's victory. By the end of 1944 a broad network of obshtina and local Fatherland Front committees had been established.<sup>38</sup> Minority commissions were organized by decision of the BCP Central Committee and the National Committee of the Fatherland Front, under the national committee and some oblast and okoliya Fatherland Front committees,<sup>39</sup> "to enable the Turkish population to develop maximal efforts for the cultural and educational enhancement of their more backward brothers."<sup>40</sup> Naturally, the existence of such commissions did not lead to the separation of the working Turkish people from the rest of the nation. It was a means of contributing to the implementation of all governmental initiatives and steps for the education of this population in a spirit of solidarity and unity of action with all other working people in our country in the struggle for the establishment and strengthening of the people's democratic regime. The commissions helped the Fatherland Front committees in exposing the efforts of reactionary forces to confuse the Bulgarian Turks. They helped to strengthen the prestige and influence of the Fatherland Front in Turkish school boards, religious Muslim communities, etc., which were carrying out important sociopolitical assignments at that time. They were purged of the representatives of the old conservative and reactionary elements and the influence of nationalistic and Turkic elements. At that point it was the

Fatherland Front, the communists above all, who were assuming a leading role in these institutions.

With the help of the minority commissions, the Fatherland Front committees engaged in extensive explanatory work among Bulgarian Turks on the Fatherland Front program and the nature, prospects and tasks of the people's regime. They helped to rally them firmly around the government, for the strengthening and establishment of the Fatherland Front system was the only guarantee of the rights and freedoms of all citizens in the country regardless of ethnic group or religion. That is why the majority of Bulgarian Turks lined up under the banner of the Fatherland Front in the very first days which followed the victory.<sup>41</sup>

The party paid great attention to involving Bulgarian Turks in the ranks of the Workers Youth Union (RMS), the Bulgarian People's Women's Union (BNZhS), the Union of Bulgarian-Soviet societies (SBSO), the General Workers Trade Union (ORPS), the cultural club and sports societies, etc. It was well aware of the fact that mass and active participation in the socialist building of the country was impossible without awakening and organizing the broad masses of toiling Turks, the young Turkish men and women in particular, and without their liberation from the chains of religious fanaticism. That is why the purpose of these mass organizations was to attract young Turkish men and women in their organizations and societies in order to help to upgrade their sociopolitical activeness and to rally them around the policies of the party and the Fatherland Front.

As early as in its Circular No 4, dated 10 November 1944, the RMS Central Committee called upon the oblast and okoliya committees and RMS societies "to pay serious attention to work among the Turkish youth."<sup>42</sup> At the beginning of 1945 the RMS Central Committee addressed a special "Appeal to the Turkish Youth in Bulgaria," calling on them to join the ranks of the militant RMS en masse and to strengthen and protect at all cost the great cause of 9 September.<sup>43</sup> The Turkish youth answered the appeal of the RMS Central Committee and undertook to set up RMS societies.<sup>44</sup> By the end of 1946 more than 15,000 Turks were RMS members. By the end of 1947 the membership had risen to 20,500.<sup>45</sup> The RMS efforts for a mass drive to enroll young Turkish people in their ranks, however, met with the resistance of their parents. Under strong religious influence, in a number of areas such as Kurdzhali, Momchilgrad, Kubrat, Isperikh and elsewhere, parents forbade their sons and daughters to visit youth clubs and attend RMS meetings. In some places they were pulled out of the RMS by force.<sup>46</sup>

These difficulties were noted at the 5th National RMS Conference, which was held on 25 March 1945. The need to organize extensive activities to involve Turkish young people in Fatherland Front work was reemphasized.<sup>47</sup> In order to surmount the difficulties, the oblast and okoliya RMS committees undertook extensive political and organizational activities with the help of the departments for work among young Turkish people, which had been established as early as 1945, and the assistance of a broad RMS aktiv.<sup>48</sup>

Thousands of Turkish youth remained outside the RMS and its influence despite the achieved successes. They became a subject of interest to youth

organizations of other political parties, such as the Agrarian Youth Union (ZMS), the Socialist Youth Union (SSM), the Zveno Youth People's Union (Zveno MNS) and the youth unions of bourgeois opposition parties. Meanwhile, the reactionary and nationalistic elements among the Bulgarian Turks were trying to keep the young people away from RMS influence and to organize them in "Turkish youth" cultural-educational, sports and other organizations.<sup>49</sup>

Realizing the great danger which this represented to the unity of the entire Bulgarian youth, the RMS Central Committee called upon the Turkish youth "to wage a merciless struggle against nationalistic and chauvinistic elements in its ranks who, benefitting from the cause of the 9 September uprising, were willing to serve foreign interests rather than those of Fatherland Front Bulgaria, including the Turkish population and its youth."<sup>50</sup> The minority commission of the Fatherland Front National Committee also appealed to the Turkish youth in Bulgaria not to yield to the propaganda of reactionary and nationalistic elements "but to take the hand of the Bulgarian youth and work for the consolidation of the present Fatherland Front regime in Bulgaria on a firmer base and to think only of tomorrow's prosperous Bulgaria."<sup>51</sup>

The RMS developed extensive efforts to surmount these trends aimed against youth unity and to create the necessary prerequisites for fraternal friendship and unity among all young people in our country. The RMS was guided by Georgi Dimitrov's instructions to the effect that the Turkish youth will reach its happiness most successfully "not by locking itself within the narrow limits of its specific interests...but through fraternal cooperation with all Bulgarian patriots in ensuring the success of the common creative cause of the Bulgarian people."<sup>52</sup>

The youth societies paid particular attention to promoting patriotic and internationalist feelings among the Turkish youth, strengthening their gratitude to the Soviet Union and their love for Bulgaria as their homeland.<sup>53</sup> Considerable work was done in this respect by the youth commissions of the Fatherland Front committees and, subsequently, the democratic youth committees. They included worthy representatives of Turkish youth as well. Despite a number of difficulties, guided by the RMS these committees developed extensive political activities in rallying the efforts of the entire Bulgarian youth within a single antifascist youth organization and their participation in the strengthening of the people's regime and building a new life in the country.

The activities of these commissions became particularly energized after G. Dimitrov's 1945 letter to the Bulgarian youth calling for a unified militant antifascist organization. The development of unified youth organizations was undertaken in answer to this letter, in circumstances of acute struggle against the opponents of youth unity in the country.<sup>54</sup>

The unity of Bulgarian youth was ensured with the establishment of the Union of People's Youth (SNM)<sup>55</sup> by the end of 1947. More Turkish boys and girls began to join the SNM. As was the case with the other public organizations, taking into consideration some specific problems, the SNM began to organize a variety of activities to enhance their political activeness and promote their patriotic and international upbringing.



Turkish women, who obtained their equality, were also energized and gradually began to join the women's union and gain knowledge and experience from their Bulgarian comrades.<sup>56</sup> Thus, for example, toward the end of 1948 37 societies were set up in Kurdzhali Okoliya with a membership of 2,200 Bulgarian and 780 Turkish women.<sup>57</sup> Similar results were achieved elsewhere in the country as well.<sup>58</sup>

Active political efforts of a clearly expressed Fatherland Front nature existed in the other mass organizations as well, such as the Bulgarian-Soviet societies, the Red Cross, the sports, temperance and benevolent societies, reading clubs, etc.<sup>59</sup> Purged of fascist elements and guided by the party, they contributed to the unification of the Bulgarian Turks under the banner of the Fatherland Front and in providing a decisive rebuff to reaction and the still-existing fascist forces and for the more energetic involvement of this population in the country's overall sociopolitical life and the struggle for strengthening and asserting the people's democratic regime.

The implementation of revolutionary measures in the country and the tremendous work which was done for the political growth of the Bulgarian Turks enabled them to realize the profound difference between their past and their present and actively to join, together with the remaining working people, in the struggle for the implementation of party and government assignments. This became particularly clear when priority was given to the "who-whom?" question in politics, and to the question of strengthening and asserting the people's regime.

The Bulgarian Turks saw in this process the only guarantee for happiness and prosperity and for ensuring the rights and freedoms of all citizens in the country. That is why at gatherings and meetings they expressed their readiness to join in the struggle for the consolidation and intensification of the results of the 9 September socialist revolution. In his statement at the March 1945 Fatherland Front Congress, Nadi Ibrakhimov from Pleven said that "the example of the partisans in Omurtag, Sevlievo and other okolijas, who enjoyed the total support and trust of the Turkish population as well, will be continued and strengthened with the trust which the Fatherland Front committees enjoy among the Turkish population today." "In the way we gave our all for the overthrow of fascism during the difficult days," Ibrakhimov said, "today we shall contribute even further to its uprooting in the country and its destruction in Europe and the assertion of the power of the Fatherland Front."<sup>60</sup>

This readiness was manifested even more clearly by the working Turkish people in Ardino, who said that they were firmly with the positions of the Fatherland Front, valued the freedom they acquired with the 9 September 1944 Act and would work with all their strength for the full and swifter implementation of the Fatherland Front September 1944 program.<sup>61</sup> The resolution which was adopted by the working Turks at a general meeting at Nodi Pazar also stressed that "the Muslim population of the city is supporting with all its strength the Fatherland Front government and the implementation of governmental measures."<sup>62</sup> "We, the Turkish population," a resolution passed at a public meeting in Kurdzhali read, "declare that we stand boldly under the banner of

the Fatherland Front and we are ready to do anything to defend it. We condemn anyone who would try to pit us against the Fatherland Front system."<sup>63</sup> At okoliya Fatherland Front conferences held in 1945 in Provadiya, Lovech, Dulovo, Silistra and elsewhere, the Bulgarian Turks expressed their full support of the domestic and foreign policy of the people's government and promised to work for the strengthening of the Fatherland Front system.<sup>64</sup>

The Bulgarian Turks energetically insisted on purging the local power bodies, Turkish school boards, religious Muslim communities and others of antinational elements. The petition submitted by the working Turkish people in Bayachevo village, Turgovishte Oblast, to the Fatherland Front committee read as follows: "The previous school boards of the Turkish school in Bayachevo village were the active servants of the previous fascist governments. Through their activities they earned the hatred of the Muslim population. We therefore insist that they be dismissed as soon as possible and that honest Fatherland Front supporters be elected."<sup>65</sup>

On 23 September 1944 the obshtina Fatherland Front committee in Nanovitsa village, Krumovgrad Okoliya, discussed the activities of the school board. After pointing out that its members had not shown concern for the training and education of the children, "it passed a resolution that they be replaced with supporters of the Fatherland Front, who would bring better order in education."<sup>66</sup> Similar meetings were organized by the Fatherland Front committees in Novi Pazar, Stoyan Mikhaylovski village, Shumen Okoliya, and elsewhere. They condemned the activities of the old boards and replaced them with new people.<sup>67</sup> The old heads of the religious communities were also dismissed virtually everywhere.<sup>68</sup>

With the help of the working Turkish people, the Fatherland Front committees engaged in extensive activities in purging the local management organs in areas with Bulgarian Turks of corrupt and compromised elements and appointing to leading positions, such as mayors, deputy mayors, etc., honest, loyal and respected individuals, both Bulgarians and Turks. However, a number of difficulties existed in purging the administrative apparatus of guilty reactionary elements and replacing them with people's officials who were aware of their responsibilities and who are the bearers of the new spirit. They were due to the initial lack of politically trained local cadres, the relatively low political consciousness of the majority of Bulgarian Turks and their indecisive attitude in openly exposing former fascists and reactionaries. Such difficulties, however, did not make the party and the people's regime waver from their plan of involving broad toiling masses of Turks in completing this important political undertaking.

In order to safeguard the victory, as early as 8 and 9 September 1944 dozens of volunteers were recruited among Bulgarian Turks in the ranks of the people's militia in the Ruse,<sup>69</sup> Silistra,<sup>70</sup> Novi Pazar,<sup>71</sup> Kubrat,<sup>72</sup> Turgovishte,<sup>73</sup> Shumen,<sup>74</sup> and other areas. Side by side with their Bulgarian comrades they protected establishments, enterprises and warehouses and strictly observed the instructions of the Fatherland Front committees. Dozens of other patriotic and antifascist Bulgarian Turks joined the local combat groups organized by the party--armed detachments for surmounting the fascist resistance and counterrevolutionary efforts. The toiling Turkish people also



answered the party's appeal for active participation in agricultural campaigns, the brigade movement, etc.<sup>75</sup>

The main task was the victorious completion of the Patriotic War. Under the slogan raised by G. Dimitrov, "Everything for the Front, Everything for Victory," the BCP launched extensive explanatory activities among Bulgarian Turks as well. It called upon that population "to extend a fraternal hand to the Bulgarian people so that the hated fascism could be definitively routed and to support with all its forces the troops at the front, who were shedding their blood side by side with the liberating fraternal Red Army for the elimination of all national slavery and oppression."<sup>76</sup> The RMS Central Committee as well appealed to the Turkish youth "to make their contribution to the full and definitive routing and elimination of fascism at the front and in the country."<sup>77</sup>

Under the leadership of the party and RMS organizations, gatherings and meetings of Bulgarian Turks were organized in Dulovo, Razgrad, Tutrakan, Kurdzhali, Momchilgrad and Omurtag and the Provadia, Novi Pazar, Belene and other areas, at which they expressed their total support of the Fatherland Front in waging the war to the full victory over fascism.<sup>78</sup> Hundreds of progressive and patriotic Bulgarian Turks were seized by unparalleled enthusiasm at the possibility offered to them of participating arms in hand in the war for the destruction of the Hitlerite hordes.

The best sons of the Bulgarian Turks answered the call of the party and the people's regime. They joined the newly created guard and voluntary units and left for the front.<sup>79</sup> New heroic accomplishments by Bulgarian Turks, who gave their lives for the heroic cause of the Bulgarian People's Army, were added to the precious sacrifices made by the Bulgarian Turks in the struggle against fascism as participants in the partisan detachments and helpers. Along with thousands of Bulgarian patriots, dozens of volunteers such as Lyutfi Yumerov Shevkedov from Kurdzhali, Ismail Ashikov from Nova Makhala village, Peshtera Okoliya, Yusein Syuleymanov Akhmedov from Zemen village, Karnobat Okoliya and others sacrificed their lives in the struggle for the definitive defeat of the "brown plague."<sup>80</sup>

In the rear the Bulgarian Turks actively participated in actions of collecting aid for the front and support of soldiers' families. By the end of 1944 alone aid to soldiers totaled 1 million leva from Krumovgrad Okoliya, 360,000 leva from Momchilgrad Okoliya, 1,891,307 leva from Ardino Okoliya and 420,000 leva from Dulovo Okoliya, as well as a considerable amount of food products and clothing. The working Turks from Pleven, Khaskovo, Kharmanli, Kurdzhali, Ruse and Silistra and the St Mikhaylovski, Belogradets, Voyvoda, Zlatna Niva, Vulnari and Kus villages, Shumen Okoliya and others contributed their share to the victory over fascism by sending tens of thousands of leva, clothing, food, cigarettes and gifts to the troops at the front and the wounded soldiers.<sup>81</sup>

Turkish youth and students extensively participated in this nationwide patriotic action. They performed dozens of literary-musical shows for the population in a number of settlements and sent the income to the troops at the front. Thus, young Turkish people from Provadiya sent 30,659 leva; from Shumen, 14,578 leva; from Pleven, 30,000 leva; from Silistra, 30,000 leva;

from Ruse, 37,130 leva; from Buzun village, Ruse Okoliya, 50,000 leva, 510 kilograms of beans, 1,200 eggs, and others; from Vetovo village, Razgrad Okoliya, 3,800 leva, etc. Turkish students from Shumen sent 5,692 leva; from Boymir village, Novi Pazar Okoliya, 300 leva, etc.<sup>82</sup> In a number of areas working Turkish people helped the families of soldiers in supplying them with wood, sowing their fields, etc.

During those hard and difficult years of privations, together with the other working people, the Bulgarian Turks helped Yugoslav orphan children taken in by our country. Turkish women in Isperrikh extensively joined the action of mending the clothes of Yugoslav children.<sup>83</sup> The working Turkish people of Lom collected 9,000 leva and those of Silistra 23,000 leva for the orphans.<sup>84</sup> Turkish students from Ravna village, Kubrat Okoliya sent to them socks, slipper socks, shirts, etc.,<sup>85</sup> they had made themselves.

Unity in the struggle for strengthening the people's regime was being achieved under the conditions of an acute class political struggle against reactionary forces. The reaction which developed after 9 September 1944, represented by the supporters of Gemeto, Nikola Petkov, Kosta Lulchev and others tried to penetrate and draw over on its side the Bulgarian Turks as well. They used to this effect the rural rich, the former tobacco merchants and the other reactionary forces among Bulgarian Turks. These forces willingly adopted the opposition course, for they hated the people's regime which was undermining their exploiting interests. It was precisely they who were the main promoters and agitators of the opposition forces among Bulgarian Turks. They tried to promote fear among this population and uncertainty and mistrust of the government of the Fatherland Front by disseminating all kinds of rumors and fabrications, and to make them take the side of the opposition.<sup>86</sup> Despite their great efforts, however, they were unable to mislead the tremendous share of Bulgarian Turks who supported the 9 September cause and condemned its opponents.

In May 1945, for example, the working Turkish people passed resolutions approving the policy of the Fatherland Front toward Bulgarian Turks and criticized the actions of the Gemeto supporters as hostile and anti-Fatherland Front at public meetings in Drentsi, Kapitan Petkovo, Strakhiltsi and Cherna, Shumen Okoliya; Lenishte, Ruse Okoliya; Chemdere and Yabulkovets, Ardino Okoliya; Darets and Nanovitsa, Krumovgrad Okoliya; a number of villages in Momchilgrad, Novi Pazar and other okolijas. They insisted that institutions be purged of fascist elements and that the opposition forces be expelled from the BZNS and the Fatherland Front committees.<sup>87</sup> Turkish workers and craftsmen in Khaskovo declared their intention to fight any divisiveness within the Fatherland Front, to expose all reactionaries and to work with all their strength for strengthening and total success of the Fatherland Front regime.<sup>88</sup>

The reactionary forces energized their activities among the Bulgarian Turks even further during the summer of 1945, in connection with the elections for the 26th Regular National Assembly. The nationalistic and conservative elements and groups among that population became energized as well. The most dangerous, however, were the forces rallied around Nikola Petkov and other opposition leaders. The opposition and its representatives among Bulgarian

Turks wanted to involve at all cost this population as well in the struggle for wrecking the parliamentary elections.

That is why in the summer of 1945 the oblast and okoliya party committees developed mass political work among Bulgarian Turks to expose the opposition and its divisive activities. The party organizations formulated their specific plans, set up electoral committees, commissions and agitation groups and significantly improved their agitation-explanatory work among the Turkish populations.<sup>89</sup>

In connection with the electoral campaign agitation, in the spring and summer of 1945 the oblast and okoliya party committees organized 3-day courses for Turkish men and women activists, to acquaint them with a number of topical political and economic problems. Teams for electoral campaign agitation were set up with the participation of members of the BCP, the BZNS, the EMO and the women's societies.<sup>90</sup> Day and night they toured settlements, organized public meetings, conferences, assemblies and individual talks with Bulgarian Turks and called upon them to participate in the full victory for the single Fatherland Front ticket.

In July and August 1945 alone, meetings for the Turkish population were held as follows: 247 attended by some 20,000 people in Varna Oblast; 383 with 35,000 people (149 of them with Turkish women) in Ruse Oblast; 177 meetings attended by some 15,000 people in Shumen Okoliya; 298 meetings with 24,560 participants in Ardino Okoliya; and 50 meetings attended by some 9,000 people in Novi Pazar Okoliya. Similar meetings were held in Kotel Okoliya and elsewhere in the country.<sup>91</sup> The following talks were delivered: "The Fatherland Front Program"; "The Attitude of the Turkish People Toward the Elections"; "The Minority Policy of the Fatherland Front and the Participation of the Turkish Population in the Elections"; "The Domestic and Foreign Policy of Bulgaria and the Tasks of the Turkish Youth in the Forthcoming Elections"; "The Elections and the Turkish Women"; "The Turkish Population and the Opposition"; and others.<sup>92</sup>

The joint electoral appeal of the BCP and the BZNS was translated and printed in the Turkish language and distributed in villages inhabited by Bulgarian Turks. Tens of thousands of appeals and agitation materials were distributed among that population by the oblast and okoliya party committees, the Fatherland Front, the RMS, the EMO, the women's societies, etc.<sup>93</sup> The patriotic and antifascist Turkish activists appealed through the party and Fatherland Front press to the Bulgarian Turks to ensure their mass participation in the victory of the single Fatherland Front ticket.

One such appeal published in RABOTNICHESKO DELO read as follows: "Let us Turks too, fully aware of the facts, do everything possible and work with all our strength for the success of the Fatherland Front system in the forthcoming elections. Let us swear that we shall vote for the single Fatherland Front ticket."<sup>94</sup> A similar appeal was addressed to the Turkish women in the newspaper USHUK -SVETLINA. It read as follows: "Our future will depend on our participation in the 26 August elections. That is why if we want freedom and equality, if we want to prevent a return to the terrible past and, finally, if



we want to lay solid foundations for the happy future of our children, we must vote for our Fatherland Front government."<sup>95</sup>

On 17 July 1945 the Fatherland Front National Committee issued additional instructions to the oblast, okoliya and local committees on their electoral mass political and explanatory activities among Bulgarian Turks.<sup>96</sup> Taking into consideration the religious and domestic features of the situation of Muslim women, on 10 August 1945 the Central Electoral Commission of the Fatherland Front National Committee resolved "that electoral sections and electoral bureaus for women alone be organized in settlements with a Muslim population, so that the Muslim women may exercise their electoral rights without any violation of their religious feelings."<sup>97</sup>

The National Committee of the Fatherland Front formulated an electoral platform which was entirely consistent with the interests of the Bulgarian Turks. It particularly emphasized the need for an irreconcilable struggle against fascist and racist ideology and against any kind of chauvinism. It promoted a spirit of democracy, national patriotism and ethnic equality among the people. It called upon the future national assembly to grant the ethnic groups "equal rights and obligations on the basis of their equal loyalty to the common Bulgarian fatherland."<sup>98</sup>

All of this greatly contributed to enhancing the political activeness of Bulgarian Turks. At their electoral meetings they expressed their faith in and decisive support of the Fatherland Front system and its platform, and proclaimed their willingness to work for the definitive elimination of fascism and the full victory of the single Fatherland Front list of candidates for the forthcoming elections.<sup>99</sup> They welcomed the nomination of candidates for deputies among their own people with particular enthusiasm and joy.<sup>100</sup>

Under the pressure of the U.S. and British members of the Allied Control Commission in Bulgaria, the government was forced to postpone the elections to 18 November 1945. Public Fatherland Front rallies and meetings took place in a number of settlements in the country, including those inhabited by Bulgarian Turks, at the beginning of September 1945, at which the reasons for the postponement of the elections were explained.<sup>101</sup> The explanatory work conducted by the party and the Fatherland Front calmed to a certain extent the concern of the Bulgarian Turks as well.<sup>102</sup>

The opposition headed by Nikola Petkov, however, launched an unrestrained campaign, complacently claiming that the postponement of the elections indicated a deep political crisis and the breakdown of the Fatherland Front. It drew up the sinister prospects of this crisis and predicted terror and violence. Relying on religious fanatical and nationalistic elements, the opposition mounted a raving campaign to undermine the authority of the Fatherland Front among Bulgarian Turks. In the Shumen area, the opposition distributed appeals with an anti-Fatherland Front content as part of a recruitment drive among the Turkish population.<sup>103</sup> In Ruse Oblast, the opposition organized 19 meetings for Bulgarian Turks.<sup>104</sup> Meetings were held in other parts and settlements in the country, at which the members of the opposition tried to pit this population against the Fatherland Front government.<sup>105</sup> They instilled in the minds of politically backward strata of

Bulgarian Turks that the freedom brought about by the Fatherland Front was temporary and that after the regime would feel itself stronger such rights and freedoms would be abolished. The opposition agitators warned the working Turkish people that if the communists were to win the elections they would encroach on their religion, make them eat from communal kitchens and other stupidities.<sup>106</sup>

The party, Fatherland Front and RMS committees and their sincere supporters among the Bulgarian Turks mounted an extensive explanatory activity against such corrupting opposition efforts. A great variety of methods were used, such as distribution of agitation materials, holding numerous assemblies and meetings, etc.<sup>107</sup> Between October and 18 November 1945 alone 73 meetings attended by 10,856 people were organized for the Turkish population in Shumen Okoliya;<sup>108</sup> 32 meetings attended by more than 3,200 people were organized in Kubrat Okoliya, 27 meetings attended by some 3,000 people were organized in Ispirikh Okoliya, 33 meetings attended by 2,500 people were organized in Razgrad Okoliya, 44 meetings attended by 1,150 people were organized in Belene Okoliya, etc.<sup>109</sup> A total of 136 meetings were organized in Varna Oblast between 19 October and 18 November 1945.<sup>110</sup> The Varna Oblast RMS Committee organized 205 electoral and 96 educational meetings for young Turkish people;<sup>111</sup> 234 meetings attended by 18,180 people were organized in Ruse Oblast.<sup>112</sup> A total of 238 Turkish RMS members became involved in electoral campaigning in Kotel Okoliya. They held dozens of meetings and agitation rallies in Yablanovo, Malko Selo, Topuzovo, Sokolartsi, Ticha, Gradets, Kotel and other villages. A regional meeting with Turkish youth was held in Ticha village.<sup>113</sup> Similar RMS activities among young Turkish people were organized in Stara Zagora Oblast as well.

Toward the end of October 1945 okoliya conferences for the electoral agitation committees were held in settlements inhabited by Bulgarian Turks. They were instructed to organize before the elections another "no less than two meetings each and engage in individual agitation, so that no single Turk would fail to understand the importance of the forthcoming elections scheduled for 18 November 1945."<sup>114</sup> Once again, at the electoral meetings the Bulgarian Turks gave their unreserved support to the program and policy of the Fatherland Front system and firmly condemned the opposition activities. In the resolution adopted at a meeting held in Burgas on 9 November 1945, the Bulgarian Turks declared that "they will unanimously support the salutary cause of the Fatherland Front and with their bulletin deal a stunning blow at the opposition on 18 November and contribute to building a free, independent, democratic and prosperous Bulgaria."<sup>115</sup>

The dissidents N. Petkov, P. Surbinskiy and their followers were condemned at an okoliya conference of young Turkish people, held in Ticha village, Kotel Okoliya on 18 October 1945; it also condemned their aspirations to divide the Bulgarian and Turkish populations in Bulgaria.<sup>116</sup> At a conference held in Silistra on 2, 3 and 4 November 1945, Turkish teachers from Silistra, Tutrakan, Dulovo, Ispirikh, Razgrad and Kubrat okolijas expressed their readiness to support the Fatherland Front system in the elections for national representatives.<sup>117</sup>

After hearing out the speakers, at a public meeting held in Shumen on 31 October 1945, the Turkish women declared that on 18 November they will unanimously vote for the Fatherland Front government.<sup>118</sup> At meetings and rallies held in Kurdzhali, Pomorie, Yambol, Kavarna, Popovo and Lovech, Krumovgrad and Preslav okoliyas and elsewhere, along with the other working people, the Bulgarian Turks condemned the divisive activities of the Nikola Petkov supporters and expressed their unreserved support of the policy of the Fatherland Front.<sup>119</sup>

This support and trust were most clearly manifested on 18 November 1945, when most Bulgarian Turks voted for the Fatherland Front candidates, who included three Turks.<sup>120</sup> Turkish women as well actively participated in the elections. In a number of areas their activists organized the vote with marches and banners. Despite the efforts of opposition elements to warn them that voting was sinful, the Turkish women did not fall for such lies and in many villages registered a 100 percent vote (such as Ugledno, Velichka, Gorno Krumovo, Dolno Krumovo, Vranikon, Malkovo Tsurkovitsa, Chernokaptsi villages in Omurtag Okoliya and in Turgovishte, Shumen and Razgrad okoliyas).<sup>121</sup> In Kurdzhali, so many Turkish women voted that new ballot boxes had to be brought in.<sup>122</sup>

The First National Assembly, which was elected in November 1945, passed a number of laws and took important steps to improve the material and cultural condition of Bulgarian Turks. At the same time, on 25 April 1946 the BCP Central Committee Politburo passed a resolution on intensifying the expository campaign against the opposition, blocking foreign propaganda in Turkish settlements, etc.<sup>123</sup> This significantly enhanced the sociopolitical activities and participation of Bulgarian Turks in the struggle for the establishment of the people's regime.

The working Turkish people became particularly active in the course of the referendum on abolishing the monarchy in Bulgaria and the elections of deputies to the Grand National Assembly. The party mounted extensive explanatory activities among the Turkish population during these important political events. As early as the beginning of August 1946, it undertook systematic agitation against the monarchy and for making Bulgaria a people's republic through the newspaper USHUK-SVETLINA. The newspaper carried extensive information exposing the great evils and misfortunes which the monarchy had brought to the working people. It was explained with the help of suitable arguments that the monarchy had to be abolished and the clean and sacred republic of which Levski and Botev dreamed become reality. On the instructions of the BCP Central Committee the Fatherland Front set up central and local committees for preparations for the referendum, which included representatives of Bulgarian Turks. The oblast and okoliya party committees organized 2-day courses for agitators among the Turkish population and printed appeals and propaganda materials.<sup>124</sup>

The agitation groups held hundreds of rallies and meetings under the party's guidance, at which the Bulgarian Turks rejected bourgeois democracy, for they had not forgotten the type of democracy which the bourgeoisie had given to them in the past and feared it like the devil fears incense.<sup>125</sup> On that subject, addressing a 15,000-strong oblast rally of working Turkish people in Ruse on 1 September 1946, speaker Bilyal Durmazov said: "All of us witnessed



and experienced the great persecutions, beatings and harassments to which the Bulgarian Turks were subjected. Where were the friends of Nikola Petkov's green banner at that time to raise their voice in our defense, as did the great Workers' Party (k). We experienced the 'charm' of the Koburg dynasty, for which reason not a single one of us will fail to vote for a people's republic."<sup>126</sup>

Resolutions were passed at the rallies and meetings, at which the Bulgarian Turks expressed their approval of the referendum, stating that they will vote for making Bulgaria a people's republic. The resolution adopted at a meeting held in Ruse stated that "we, Turks living in Fatherland Front Bulgaria, enjoying the freedom enjoyed by the Bulgarian people as well, are ready to defend the Fatherland Front in all respects. We pledge that all of us will most actively participate on 8 September in the abolishment of the monarchy and the institution of a people's republic."<sup>127</sup> Mass meetings were held in Burgas, Sliven, Omurtag, Razgrad and Khaskovo and in Isperrikh, Krumovgrad and other okoliyas, at which the Bulgarian Turks displayed their full solidarity with the domestic and foreign policy of the Fatherland Front government and displayed their hatred of the monarchy, stating that they will vote for a people's republic.<sup>128</sup> On referendum day, 8 September 1946, the majority of Bulgarian Turks said "No" to the monarchy and enthusiastically welcomed the proclamation of Bulgaria as a people's republic on 15 September 1946.<sup>129</sup>

The proclamation of Bulgaria as a people's republic was immediately followed by preparations for the election of deputies to the Grand National Assembly. The electoral campaign was focused on the conclusion of a just peace treaty and a discussion of the draft of a new democratic constitution. The draft, which was published on the eve of the elections, reflected the radical changes which had taken place in the country as a result of the 9 September socialist revolution. It proclaimed the true rights of all working people, the equality among ethnic groups in all fields of life and guarantees for their further economic, political and cultural development.

A stubborn struggle had to be waged against the bourgeois opposition and its agents among Bulgarian Turks in the campaign for the Grand National Assembly elections. On the eve of the elections, the opposition parties, the reactionary forces within the Fatherland Front and some of the clergy and the nationalistic forces among Bulgarian Turks united within a joint anticommunist bloc. The bourgeois opposition was hoping to overthrow the people's regime. Its leaders made demagogic speeches to the population and fabricated and disseminated rumors among the Bulgarian Turks to the effect that "were the Fatherland Front to win the elections, all property, including their land, would be taken away from the Turks."<sup>130</sup> They claimed that, should they assume the power, the communists would close down the Mosques, violate the religious and ethnic feelings of the Turkish population, etc.<sup>131</sup>

The foreign press and radio were also jammed with complaints on the subject of the "bitter fate" of Bulgarian Turks.<sup>132</sup> Through such propaganda and agitation the opposition and reactionary leadership was able to mislead a large number of working Turkish people in Isperrikh, Kubrat and Aytos okoliyas and other parts of the country. In these areas the opposition nominated Turkish candidates as well. The appeal it addressed to the Bulgarian Turks

misrepresented the articles of the draft constitution and appealed to the Turkish population to vote the white bulletin of the united opposition. "If you want to protect your property, your honor, etc.," the appeal read, "vote with the white bulletin against the communists."<sup>133</sup>

The party, the Fatherland Front and the RMS organized explanatory work among the Bulgarian Turks against the malicious antipeople's reactionary campaign. A number of agitation materials were published to this effect, such as the "Resolutions of the 11th Plenum of the Central Committee of the BRP(k)," "The International Situation and the Struggle for Concluding a Just and Dignified Peace," "The Turnovo Constitution and the New People's-Republican Draft Constitution," "The Opposition as the Agent of Domestic and International Enemies and the Instigators of a New World War," and others. The draft of the new constitution was translated and distributed among the Bulgarian Turks.<sup>134</sup>

It was on these and many other political and economic problems that the agitators and those responsible for settlements with Bulgarian Turks organized extensive political work. In Kubrat, Ispikh and Ardino okoliyas alone 219 meetings, conferences and agitation groups were set up with the participation of more than 50,000 working Turkish people.<sup>135</sup> On the eve of the elections USHUK appealed to the Bulgarian Turks to vote for the Fatherland Front.<sup>136</sup> On election day, 27 October 1946, the Bulgarian Turks displayed significant political activeness and proved their loyalty to democracy and the Fatherland Front government. More than 90 percent of the voters took part in the vote and the tremendous majority voted for the Fatherland Front candidates.<sup>137</sup> Seven Fatherland Front Turkish deputies were elected to the Grand National Assembly.

A certain percentage of voters among Bulgarian Turks in the Rodopi and Ludogorie areas voted for the opposition. The opposition's success was due above all to the fact that it played up the remaining extensive postwar difficulties, particularly in the economic area, as well as errors made by the local authorities in the implementation of some measures.<sup>138</sup> Let us add to this the unjustified relaxation of some okoliya and local party committees, who believed that, as had been the case during the first elections and the referendum, the Turkish population would give its total support to the Fatherland Front candidates. They underestimated the fact that reactionary elements, who enjoyed great influence and were not totally exposed, were to be found among this population as well.<sup>139</sup> Furthermore, the opposition was backed by some local Turkish leaders of the BZNS and the Zveno group who, grossly violating the electoral campaign agreement of the Fatherland Front, actually took the side of the reaction in order to oppose the BCP.<sup>140</sup>

Despite a partial success, the opposition was dealt a crushing blow. Having failed to overthrow the people's democratic regime and restore the bourgeois rule through elections, the bourgeois opposition and reactionary leadership began to use clandestine means of struggle. They established ties with the clandestine fascist organizations "Military Alliance" and "Neutral Officer," and made preparations for seizing the power by force, expecting help from the United States and Britain.<sup>141</sup> The plans of the reactionary opposition were exposed in time. Led by the party, the organs of the people's democratic state routed the military-fascist organizations in 1947. The conspirators

were taken to court, where their antipeople's activities were fully exposed. The working people in town and country, including the working Turkish people, condemned their enemy activities at assemblies and meetings. "On behalf of all Turkish men and women of Varna Okoliya," a resolution adopted at a conference of the Fatherland Front aktiv stated, "we condemn the criminal and treacherous activities of Nikola Petkov, an agent of domestic and foreign reaction. We insist that Petkov and his accomplices be punished most strictly. This will be a good lesson for anyone who would like to conspire against the cause of the Fatherland Front."<sup>142</sup> Similar resolutions were passed by working Turkish people at meetings organized by the Fatherland Front, the RMS and other sociopolitical organizations in Ardino, Krumovgrad, Momchilgrad and other okolijas.<sup>143</sup>

After the exposure and the routing of the opposition, the misled working people, including hundreds of Bulgarian Turks, started to return to the Fatherland Front. They realized that the path followed by the bourgeois opposition was wrong and issued declarations condemning the activities of Nikola Petkov and other opposition leaders, stating that they wanted to work for the cause of the Fatherland Front.

These were the circumstances under which discussions of the draft of the new constitution went on. The Bulgarian Turks supported the draft entirely and welcomed the adoption of the first Dimitrov Constitution on 4 December 1947. "The Turkish population," read a resolution adopted in Shumen on 30 December 1947, "fully approves and supports the constitution which was adopted by the Grand National Assembly on 4 December 1947. Finding that it calls for total equality among all ethnic groups living in the country, securing all human freedoms and granting full support in maintaining the Turkish schools, the assembly deems that the constitution is the total embodiment of the ideals of the Turkish population in the country."<sup>144</sup> The personnel and the parent-teacher committee at the Turkish school in Pleven expressed their joy and congratulations on the adoption of the new Dimitrov Constitution and stated that they will dedicate all their forces to reeducate the growing generation in the spirit of the new constitution.<sup>145</sup>

The Bulgarian Turks actively participated in the struggle for rebuilding and strengthening the national economy. Like the other working people in the country, they welcomed with enthusiasm the adoption of the 2-year national economic plan. The working Turkish people expressed their full readiness most actively to participate in the mass patriotic movement for the ahead-of-schedule implementation of the plan at meetings and conferences in Sliven, Turgovishte, Tervel, Dulovo, Kurdzhali, Ardino, Momchilgrad, Krumovgrad, Novi Pazar, Popovo, Razgrad and other okolijas.<sup>146</sup> Dozens of Turkish workers employed at the Dunovsk Koprina, Vela Piskova, Udarnik and Fazan factories in Ruse,<sup>147</sup> the Khristo Botev factory in Varna, the Boycho Zhelev and Len factories in Provadiya,<sup>148</sup> and the Panayot Volov factory in Shumen, the Vulkan mine and others joined the noble socialist competition.<sup>149</sup>

The brigade movement, which was born and extensively developed during the first years of the people's regime, contributed to the implementation of the 2-year plan. Thousands of young Turkish people joined the movement. As early as 1946 the 2,000 enthusiastic young people in the G. Dimitrov National



Construction Brigade in Khainboaz included 350 Turks. More than 5,000 took part in the brigade movement in 1947 and 40,000 in 1948.<sup>150</sup> More than 1,300 young people of Turkish origin, including 28 girls, took part in laying the Pernik-Voluyak railroad line in 1947.<sup>151</sup> The largest participation of young Turkish people was in laying the Samuil-Silistra railroad tracks. Here more than 50 percent of the brigade members were young Bulgarian Turks.<sup>152</sup>

The young Turkish people participated in the brigade movement voluntarily and with great enthusiasm. This is confirmed by the fact that in many cases their number exceeded the planned figures. For example, at the beginning of August 1947 450 people volunteered for laying the Pernik-Voluyak railroad tracks instead of the stipulated 350 young Turks.<sup>153</sup> The planned figures for the youth brigade laying the Samuil-Silistra railroad tracks were exceeded by a factor of 2.5.<sup>154</sup> More than 1,000 young Turkish people from Stara Zagora Oblast pledged to work even more energetically for the fulfillment of the 2-year national economic plan.<sup>155</sup> By request of Turkish teachers from Shumen Okoliya, 100 teachers joined the Gen. Vl. Zaimov Youth Construction Brigade in Lovech-Troyan,<sup>156</sup> and 245 teachers and students from Nyuvab Secondary School joined the okoliya and local brigades<sup>157</sup> in July 1948.

Ignoring the opposition of their parents, Turkish girls as well actively participated in the work of the brigades, the local brigades above all. For example, more than 100 Turkish girls worked for 1 month in correcting the bed of the Lom River in 1948.<sup>158</sup> The same year 22 girls from Kladentsi village, Razgrad Okoliya, formed the local Tsola Dragoycheva Brigade, to help poor peasants in their fieldwork.<sup>159</sup> A permanent brigade consisted of 19 young Turkish women in Boyan-Dzhivigartsi village, Shumen Okoliya.<sup>160</sup> Similar brigades were set up in the Kubrat, Novi Pazar, Turgovishte, Preslav, Kurdzhali and other parts of the country.<sup>161</sup> At first the Turkish girls worked in separate female brigades. Shortly afterwards, however, they got rid of their veils, donned the blue brigade uniforms and became indistinguished among the other young people.

With their participation in the brigade movement, the young Turkish people, together with the other youth, greatly contributed to the completion of important projects of national and local significance, such as the Pernik-Voluyak, Lovech-Troyan, Samuil-Isperikh and Somovit-Nikopol railroad tracks, highways, dams, Dimitrovgrad and its plants and others. New school buildings, clubs, hospitals, summer pioneer camps, farm premises for the first TKZS [labor cooperative farms], bridges, sports stadiums, parks, etc., were built in hundreds of cities and villages. Hundreds of young Turkish people became the bearers of high production awards for high and conscientious labor efforts.

The Bulgarian Turks welcomed with satisfaction the Law on Nationalization of Private Industrial and Mining Enterprises and the labor competition which was mounted in honor of the 5th BCP Congress. The working Turkish people of Varna, Khaskovo and Momchilgrad and the peasants in 23 settlements of Dzhebel Obshtina, Mishevo in Kurdzhali Okoliya, Enevo in Tolbukhin Okoliya and others pledged to welcome the congress with worthy labor accomplishments.<sup>162</sup> In honor of the congress, the Turkish teachers in Asenovgrad, Silistra Okoliya, the Gerlovo area and elsewhere stated that they will work tirelessly to

surmount the cultural and educational backwardness of Bulgarian Turks, to upgrade their political consciousness and to raise the growing generation in a socialist spirit.<sup>163</sup>

The pregress competition also spread among the working people in Svishtov and Silistra, Ruse and Khaskovo okoliyas, the Turkish school students and teachers in Shumen, Stara Zagora, etc., who contributed thousands of labor days as gifts to the congress.<sup>164</sup> On the eve of the congress the Turkish workers at the Gyudyurska mine fulfilled their production norms between 226 and 398 percent.<sup>165</sup> During the pregress days the population in the towns and villages of Kurdzhali, Ardino, Krumovgrad and Momchilgrad okoliyas contributed thousands of labor days in road repairs, afforestation, etc.<sup>166</sup>

With their participation in the country's economic and political life, the Bulgarian Turks made their modest contribution to the struggle for strengthening and establishing the people's democratic regime. The general line of building socialism, which was formulated at the 5th BCP Congress and the resolutions of the historical April 1956 Central Committee Plenum gave an even greater impetus to the active and conscious participation of the Bulgarian Turks in building socialism in our country.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. B. Svetkova, "Polozhenieto i Borbite na Trudeshtite se Bulgari i Turtsi Sreshtu Osmanskiya Feodalen Poryaduk (XV-XIX v.)" [The Situation and the Struggles of the Toiling Bulgarians and Turks Against the Ottoman Feudal Order (15th-19th Centuries)], Sofia, 1977; Sh. Takhirov, "Edinenieto" [Unity], Sofia, 1981; "Druzni i Edinni Prez Vekovete" [United and Together Through the Centuries], Sofia, 1966.
2. RABOTNICHESKI VESTNIK, No 41, 25 August 1919.
3. Ibid., No 1, 18 September 1944.
4. Ibid., No 151, 15 March 1945.
5. Ibid., No 100, 13 January 1945.
6. "BKP v Rezolyutsii i Resheniya...." [The BCP in Resolutions and Decisions], Vol IV, Sofia, 1954, p 7.
7. TsDA na NRB [Central State Archives of the Bulgarian People's Republic], f. [Archive] 28, op. [List] 1, a.e. [Archive Unit] 113, l. [Sheet] 695; TsPA [Central Party Archives], f. 146, op. 5, a.e. 219.
8. TsPA, f. 146, op. 5, a.e. 219, l. 1, 14.
9. DURZHAVEN VESTNIK, No 263, 27 November 1944.
10. Ibid., No 62, 17 March 1945.
11. Ibid., 16 October 1944.

12. TsDA na NRB, f. 28, op. 1, a.e. 114.
13. "Turetskoye Men'shinstvo v NRB" [The Turkish Minority in the NRB], Sofia, 1951, pp 39, 43, 44, 45; TsDA na NRB, f. 49, op. 1, a.e. 4,440, l. 8-9; "Stenografski Dnevitsi na XXVI ONS" [Minutes of the 26th Regular National Assembly], Session VI, 1946, Vol I, pp 807-809; DURZHAVEN VESTNIK, No 113, 18 May 1945.
14. "Peti Kongres na BRP(k)" [5th Congress of the BRP(k)], Minutes, part I, 1949, p 494.
15. Ibid., p 497; "Stenografski Dnevitsi na XXVI ONS," Session 73, 1946, Vol III, pp 807-809.
16. "Stenografski Dnevitsi na XXVI ONS," 1964, Vol I, pp 1,158-1,160, 1,174-1,175; DURZHAVEN VESTNIK, No 234, 12 October 1946.
17. DURZHAVEN VESTNIK, No 284, 21 December 1944.
18. TsDA na NRB, f. 28, op. 1, a.e. 113, l. 127-131; USHUK (SVETLINA), No 5, 10 February 1945.
19. Ibid., a.e. 113, l. 6, 92; TsPA, f. 146, op. 5, a.e. 219, l. 18, 19, 101-102.
20. TsPA, f. 146, op. 5, a.e. 219, l. 1-113; OPA [Oblast Party Archive], Shumen, f. 4, op. 1, a.e. 20, l. 1.
21. RABOTNICHESKO DELO, No 101, 15 January 1945; TsDA na NRB, f. 28, op. 1, a.e. 92, l. 179.
22. TsPA, f. 1, op. 12, a.e. 168, l. 2; a.e. 170-178, l. 1; a.e. 342, l. 8.
23. Ibid.
24. OPA-Shumen, f. 4, op. 4, a.e. 2, l. 3-4; OPA-Kurdzhali, f. 6, op. 1, a.e. 120.
25. OPA-Ruse, f. 1, op. 1, a.e. 236, l. 75.
26. OPA-Kurdzhali, f. 5, op. 1, a.e. 15, l. 21-23.
27. "BKP v Rezolyutsii i Resheniya...", Vol IV, pp 88, 102-105, 106-109.
28. OPA-Ruse, f. 1, op. 1, a.e. 28, l. [illegible].
29. TsPA, f. 1, op. 15, a.e. 94, l. 2, a.e. 158, l. 40, 66; OPA-Turgovishte, f. 5, op. 1, a.e. 12, l. 33.
30. TsPA, f. 1, op. 15, a.e. 158, l. 30, 40, 66.



31. TsPA, f. 146, op. 4, a.e. 427, l. 1-2; NARODNA BORBA, No 84, 23 March 1945.
32. TsPA, f. 1, op. 15, a.e. 153, l. 6.
33. PARTIEN RABOTNIK, Vol IV, 1947, p 29; OPA-Ruse, f. 1, op. 1, a.e. 75, l. 208.
34. OPA-Kurdzhali, f. 6, op. 1, a.e. 12, l. 71.
35. RABOTNICHESKO DELO, No 151, 15 March 1945.
36. Ibid.
37. TsPA, f. 146, op. 4, a.e. 427, l. 1-2; TsDA na NRB, f. 28, op. 1, a.e. 272, l. 74, 82, 85, 95; a.e. 273, l. 100, 136, 140, 163, 254, 259.
38. TsDA na NRB, f. 28, op. 1, a.e. 113, l. 87, 88; a.e. 73, l. 178; OPA-Kurdzhali, f. 2, op. 1, a.e. 1, l. 2-8; f. 5, op. 1, a.e. 13.
39. TsPA, f. 146, op. 4, a.e. 427, l. 1-2; TsDA na NRB, f. 28, op. 1, a.e. 113, l. 31; RABOTNICHESKO DELO, No 151, 15 March 1945.
40. TsDA na NRB, f. 28, op. 1, a.e. 91, l. 162, a.e. 93, l. 8; a.e. 272, 273, 113.
41. Ibid., f. 28, op. 1, a.e. 5, l. 71.
42. TsPA, f. 52, op. 3, a.e. 15, l. 2, 10.
43. Ibid.; RABOTNICHESKO DELO, No 94, 5 January 1945.
44. OSVOBOZHDENIE, No 2, 21 October 1944; RABOTNICHESKO DELO, No 160, 25 March 1945; TsPA, f. 52, op. 4, a.e. 39, l. 184, 187; f. 254, op. 1, a.e. 473, l. 378; OPA-Ruse, f. 1, op. 1, a.e. 114, l. 143.
45. TsPA, f. 254, op. 3, a.e. 2, l. 270.
46. Ibid., f. 146, op. 5, a.e. 219, l. 16; f. 52, op. 4, a.e. 39, l. 187-189.
47. Ibid., f. 52, op. 3, a.e. 10, l. 72; MLADEZHKA ISKRA, No 10, 9 May 1945; RABOTNICHESKO DELO, No 164, 30 March 1945.
48. TsPA, f. 254, op. 1, a.e. 220, l. 2.
49. Ibid., f. 146, op. 5, a.e. 219, l. 29-31; OPA-Ruse, f. 1, op. 1, a.e. 7, l. 146.
50. RABOTNICHESKO DELO, No 94, 5 January 1945.
51. USHUK-SVETLINA, No 4, 3 August 1945.

52. TsPA, f. 52, op. 3, a.e. 19, l. 19.
53. Ibid., f. 1, op. 5, a.e. 353, l. 375.
54. TsDA na NRB, f. 28, op. 1, a.e. 91, l. 66.; for more details see "Istoriya na Mladezhkoto Revolyutsionno Dvizhenie v Bulgariya" [History of the Youth Revolutionary Movement in Bulgaria], 1972, pp 457-488.
55. Ibid., p 537.
56. USHUK-Svetlina, No 6, 23 August 1945.
57. OPA-Kurdzhali, f. 2, op. 1, a.e. 7, l. 11; a.e. 47, l. 39.
58. DUNAVSKI OTECHESTVEN FRONT, No 20, 23 May 1945; No 86, 24 August 1945; USHUK, No 5, 15 July 1945; DOSTLUK (DRUZHBA), No 18, 2 August 1947; No 34, 21 November 1947; TsDA na NRB, f. 7, op. 1, a.e. 43, l. 131, 133.
59. DOSTLUK, No 19, 27 November 1946; USHUK, No 5, 15 July 1945.
60. TsDA na NRB, f. 28, op. 1, a.e. 5, l. 327-328.
61. NARODNA BORBA, No 71, 22 December 1945.
62. ODA [Oblast State Archives]-Shumen, f. 70, op. 1, a.e. 1, l. 73.
63. RABOTNICHESKO DELO, No 254, 16 July 1945.
64. USHUK-SVETLINA, No 9, 1 October 1945; TsDA na NRB, f. 28, op. 1, a.e. 113, l. 16.
65. ODA-Turgovishte, f. 96, op. 1, a.e. 5, l. 39.
66. ODA-Kurdzhali, f. 82, op. 1, a.e. 1, l. 19.
67. ODA-Shumen, f. 70, op. 1, a.e. 1, l. 74, 136.
68. TsDA na NRB, f. 28, op. 1, a.e. 113, l. 31.
69. Contributed by Bilyal Aliyev from Ruse.
70. Contributed by Bilyal Durmazov from Silistra.
71. Contributed by Khyusein Kurdov from Shumen.
72. ODA-Razgrad, f. 62, op. 1, a.e. 1, l. 69.
73. ODA-Turgovishte, f. 96, op. 1, a.e. 3, l. 21.
74. ODA-Shumen, f. 1, op. 1, a.e. 9, l. 42.
75. TsPA, f. 146, op. 5, a.e. 219, l. 25, 28, 30, 43.

76. RABOTNICHESKO DELO, No 151, 15 March 1945.
77. Ibid., No 94, 5 January 1945.
78. TsPA, f. 1, op. 57, a.e. 8, l. 51; DUNAVSKI OTECHESTVEN FRONT, No 60, 26 November 1944; No 147, 11 March 1945; RABOTNICHESKO DELO, No 73, 11 December 1944; No 101, 15 January 1945; ODA-Shumen, f. 70, op. 1, a.e. 61, l. 41.
79. TsVA [Central Military Archives], f. 755, op. 1, a.e. 191, l. 21-261, 70; f. 357, op. 1, a.e. 61, l. 115-149.
80. TsVA, f. 323, op. 1, a.e. 87, l. 27-272. Inventory No 520; f. 17, op. 1, a.e. 5, l. 1, 15, 27; a.e. 9, l. 6-16, 82-88, 110-112, 135-143; f. 342, op. 1, a.e. 228, l. 666.
81. TsDA na NRB, f. 28, op. 1, a.e. 102, l. 118, 290; TsVA, f. 3, op. 3, a.e. 5, l. 87, 89, 118; NARODNA BORBA, No 24, 3 February 1945; OTECHESTVEN FRONT, No 460, 3 March 1946; ZNAME NA TRUDA, No 9, 15 December 1944; ODA-Shumen, f. 70, op. 1, a.e. 1, l. 36, 125, 126, 184, 216, 301, 339; OSVOBOZHDENIE, No 5, 11 November 1944; SVOBODNA DOBRUDZHA, No 8, 19 November 1944; TsPA, f. 146, op. 5, a.e. 219, l. 29, 60.
82. RABOTNICHESKO DELO, No 76, 14 Dec 1944; OSVOBOZHDENIE, No 5, 11 November 1944; No 9, 1 November 1944; No 68, 6 December 1944; ODA-Shumen, f. 70, op. 1, a.e. 1, l. 36.
83. OTECHESTVEN FRONT, No 1,050, 4 February 1948.
84. TsPA, f. 146, op. 5, a.e. 219, l. 25, 43.
85. DUNAVSKI OTECHESTVEN FRONT, No 150, 15 March 1945.
86. TsDA na NRB, f. 28, op. 1, a.e. 113, l. 89, 91; OPA-Ruse, f. 1, op. 1, a.e. 11, l. 31; a.e. 7, l. 145; a.e. 25, l. 68-69.
87. RABOTNICHESKO DELO, No 194, 4 May 1945; OTECHESTVEN FRONT, No 203, 4 May 1945; TsDA na NRB, f. 28, op. 1, a.e. 163, l. 57, 60, 61; a.e. 164, l. 53, 55, 58, 63, 64, 67; OPA-Shumen, f. 4, op. 4, a.e. 2, l. 1; TsPA, f. 52, op. 4, a.e. 39, l. 109.
88. USHUK-SVETLINA, No 5, 15 August 1945.
89. OPA-Silistra, f. 2, op. 1, a.e. 9, l. 207; TsPA, f. 1, op. 15, a.e. 15, l. 58; a.e. 22, l. 15.
90. TsPA, f. 1, op. 15, a.e. 14, l. 122; f. 52, op. 4, a.e. 39, l. 182.
91. Ibid., f. 1, op. 15, a.e. 14, l. 114.

92. USHUK-SVETLINA, No 6, 23 August 1945; DUNAVSKI OTECHESTVEN FRONT, No 273, 9 August 1945; No 277, 14 August 1945; No 283, 21 August 1945; TsDA na NRB, f. 28, op. 1, a.e. 113, l. 64-65.
93. TsPA, f. 1, op. 15, a.e. 14, l. 58, 114, op. 15, a.e. 20, l. 3; a.e. 15, l. 44, 58, 55, 62; a.e. 20, l. 23; a.e. 22, l. 15; NARODNA MLADĚZH, No 36, 23 August 1945; USHUK, No 6, 23 August 1945; TsDA na NRB, f. 28, op. 1, a.e. 113, l. 64, 65; NARODNA BORBA, No 47, 14 July 1945; DUNAVSKI OTECHESTVEN FRONT, No 278, 15 August 1945; ODA-Shumen, f. 4, op. 2, a.e. 2, l. 19, 23.
94. RABOTNICHESKO DELO, No 286, 22 August 1945.
95. USHUK-SVETLINA, No 6, 23 August 1945.
96. TsDA na NRB, f. 28, op. 1, a.e. 199, l. 38, 125, 188.
97. Ibid., l. 58.
98. Ibid., f. 28, op. 1, a.e. 199; USHUK-SVETLINA, No 4, 3 August 1945.
99. RABOTNICHESKO DELO, No 268, 1 August 1945; TsDA na NRB, f. 28, op. 1, a.e. 113, l. 64, 65.
100. Ibid.
101. TsPA, f. 52, op. 4, a.e. 39, l. 176.
102. Ibid., f. 1, op. 15, a.e. 15, l. 60.
103. OSVOBOZHDENIE, No 33, 27 August 1945; No 40, 8 October 1945.
104. TsPA, f. 1, op. 15, a.e. 20, l. 8.
105. TsDA na NRB, f. 28, op. 1, a.e. 102, l. 8.
106. Ibid., a.e. 88, l. 292.
107. OPA-Silistra, f. 2, op. 1, a.e. 9, l. 209; USHUK, No 13, 17 October 1945; OSVOBOZHDENIE, No 48, 8 November 1945.
108. TsPA, f. 1, op. 15, a.e. 15, l. 63; OSVOBOZHDENIE, No 49, 12 November 1945.
109. TsPA, f. 1, op. 15, a.e. 20, l. 9, 11.
110. TsDA na NRB, f. 28, op. 1, a.e. 210, l. 138.
111. TsPA, f. 52, op. 4, a.e. 13, l. 147-a.
112. Ibid., f. 52, op. 4, a.e. 39, l. 183.

113. Ibid., f. 1, op. 15, a.e. 14, l. 119, 125.
114. Ibid., f. 1, op. 15, a.e. 14, l. 70.
115. TsDA na NRB, f. 28, op. 1, a.e. 210, l. 53; TsPA, f. 52, op. 3., a.e. 17, l. 141.
116. TsDA na NRB, f. 28, op. 1, a.e. 210, l. 80; USHUK, No 11, 30 October 1945.
117. TsDA na NRB, f. 28, op. 1, a.e. 113, l. 73.
118. OSVOBOZHDENIE, No 47, 5 November 1945.
119. OTECHESTVEN FRONT, No 371, 15 November 1945; USHUK, No 10, 15 October 1945; No 15, 15 December 1945; TsDA na NRB, f. 28, op. 1, a.e. 210, l. 219.
120. The percentage of votes cast for the Fatherland Front in okoliyas with a larger Turkish population was as follows: Krumovgrad, 98.96 percent; Momchilgrad, 96.36 percent; Ardino, 96.29 percent; Kurdzhali, 96.21 percent; Dulovo, 88.05 percent; Isperikh, 82.52 percent; Razgrad, 81.47 percent; Kubrat, 81.91 percent, etc. (RABOTNICHESKO DELO, No 362, 19 November 1945).
121. TsPA, f. 1, op. 15, a.e. 15, l. 17.
122. OTECHESTVEN FRONT, No 376, 20 November 1945.
123. M. Isusov. "Politicheskite Partii v Bulgariya (1944-1948)" [Political Parties in Bulgaria (1944-1948)], Sofia, 1978, p 271.
124. TsPA, f. 1, op. 15, a.e. 94, l. 4.; OPA-Ruse, f. 1, op. 1; a.e. 133, l. 64, 69; a.e. 158, l. 156, 157.
125. TsDA na NRB, f. 28, op. 1, a.e. 220, l. 176; OPA-Ruse, f. 1, op. 1, a.e. 133, l. 64-69; OPA-Shumen, f. 4, op. 4, a.e. 8, l. 15.
126. RABOTNICHESKO DELO, No 199, 3 September 1946.
127. Ibid.
128. TsDA na NRB, f. 28, op. 1, a.e. 219, l. 52, 75, 81, 130; OPA-Ruse, f. 1, op. 1, a.e. 133, l. 59.; USHUK, No 34, 28 September 1946.
129. TsDA na NRB, f. 28, op. 1, a.e. 91, l. 203; a.e. 102, l. 13; a.e. 219, l. 12; a.e. 220, l. 179; OPA-Kurdzhali, f. 5, op. 1, a.e. 16, l. 31, 67; RABOTNICHESKO DELO, No 205, 9 September 1946.
130. TsDA na NRB, f. 28, op. 1, a.e. 76, l. 42; a.e. 77, l. 7, 159.
131. Ibid., a.e. 219, l. 25, 30.



132. DOSTLUK (DRUZHBA), No 69, 6 May 1947.
133. OPA-Ruse, f. 1, op. 1, a.e. 158, l. 172, 181; a.e. 133, l. 105.
134. TsDA na NRB, f. 28, f. 21, a.e. 219, l. 20; OSVOBOZHDENIE, No 95, 14 October 1946; OPA-Ruse, f. 1, a.e. 158, l. 162, 181.
135. OPA-Ruse, f. 1, op. 1, a.e. 133, l. 96, 105; TsDA na NRB, f. 28, op. 1, a.e. 102, l. 13.
136. USHUK, No 36, 25 October 1946.
137. DOSTLUK, No 69, 6 May 1947; OPA-Shumen, f. 4, op. 4, a.e. 8.
138. OPA-Ruse, f. 1, op. 1, a.e. 119, l. 208; a.e. 129, l. 120, 123.
139. Ibid., f. 1, op. 1, a.e. 5, l. 19; OPA-Stara Zagora, f. 1, op. 1, a.e. 91, l. 49, 71, 121.
140. OPA-Ruse, f. 1, op. 1, a.e. 156, l. 14; ODA-Ruse, f. 82, op. 1, a.e. 27, l. 75; TsDA na NRB, f. 28, op. 1, a.e. 228, l. 5.
141. See K. Kukov. "Razgrom na Burzhoaznata Opozitsiya" [The Routing of the Bourgeois Opposition], pp 179-181.
142. NARODNO DELO, No 917, 12 August 1947.
143. TsDA na NRB, f. 28, op. 1, a.e. 102, l. 22, 91, 120-121.
144. Ibid., a.e. 185, l. 13.
145. Ibid., l. 31.
146. TsDA na NRB, f. 28, op. 1, a.e. 102, l. 22, 91, 120-121; DOSTLUK, No 7, 17 May 1947; No 8, 24 May 1947; No 25, 19 September 1947; USHUK, No 47-48, 1 May 1947; No 50, 1 June 1947; No 52-53, 15 July 1947; No 55-56, 1 November 1947.
147. DUNAVSKI OTECHESTVEN FRONT, No 901, 3 August 1947.
148. NARODNO DELO, No 1,052, 20 January 1948; No 1,103, 20 March 1948.
149. TsDA na NRB, f. 28, op. 1, a.e. 415, l. 33.
150. NARODNA MLADZHZH, No 270, 4 June 1949; DOSTLUK, No 9, 31 May 1947.
151. MLADZHZHKA ISKRA, No 30, 31 July 1947; DOSTLUK, No 20, 15 August 1947.
152. NARODNA MLADZHZH, No 270, 4 June 1949.
153. DUNAVSKI OTECHESTVEN FRONT, No 20, 15 August 1947.

154. NARODNA MLADEZH, No 72, 4 September 1948.
155. TsPA, f. 52, op. 3, a.e. 42, l. 234-264.
156. TsDA na NRB, f. 142, op. 5, a.e. 131, l. 127-128.
157. Ibid., f. 142, op. 5, a.e. 153, l. 62; RABOTNICHESKO DELO, No 124, 28 May 1948.
158. TsDA na NRB, f. 28, op. 5, a.e. 9, l. 164.
159. NARODNA MLADEZH, No 270, 4 June 1949.
160. TsPA, f. 254, op. 1, a.e. 436, l. 138.
161. Ibid., a.e. 633, l. 7; a.e. 443, l. 387; op. 2, a.e. 7, l. 4; a.e. 8, l. 149, 194, 269, 320, 386, 460; a.e. 32, l. 188, 284.
162. TsPA, f. 146, op. 4, a.e. 1774, l. 163, 162, 140, 141, 155; YENI USHUK (NOVA SVETLINA), No 43, 26 October 1948; No 44, 1 November 1948; No 45, 7 November 1948; No 46, 14 December 1948; No 47, 27 November 1948; NARODEN PODEM, No 8, 25 October 1948; No 13, 29 October 1948.
163. TsPA, f. 146, op. 4, a.e. 1774, l. 164, 158, 159.
164. YENI USHUK, No 46, 14 November 1948; No 47, 21 November 1948.
165. OPA-Kurdzhali, f. 2, op. 1, a.e. 47, l. 60.
166. Ibid., f. 6, op. 1, a.e. 31, l. 32.

5003

CSO: 2200/75

BULGARIA

BRIEFS

ZHIVKOV RECEIVES INDIAN AMBASSADOR--On 7 February Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council, received Baglodi Deva Rao, Indian ambassador to Bulgaria, in connection with his forthcoming final departure from the country. The meeting was attended by Minister Petur Mladenov. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1630 GMT 7 Feb 85 AU]

CSO: 2200/103

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

U.S. 'INTELLIGENT WEAPONS' DENOUNCED

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 3 Jan 85 p 6

[Article by Ivan Broz: "U.S. Efforts To Achieve Superiority"]

[Excerpts] In the United States they have definitively approved the law regarding the military budget for the fiscal year 1985, which began on 1 October. It represents a sum of \$292 billion which, compared to last year, represents an increase of 5 percent in real values. The predominant portion of this record package of dollars for military purposes is destined for conventional weapons.

How can one explain this fact? It certainly is not an "expression of no confidence" in nuclear weapons. It is also not the case of some kind of freeze or even a reduction of their levels; on the contrary, strategic nuclear systems, as, for example, the Ohio class submarines carrying Trident missiles, strategic B-1 bombers and other weapons of this category, are receiving as many funds as they have never before received in history. By stressing the conventional side of armaments this is more a question of emphasizing new profit and strategic trends which, in the question of armaments, are being pursued by the American military-industrial complex. One such direction is also the development and production of so-called "smart weapons."

Although the basis for these weapons is nonnuclear their effects are virtually equal to those of weapons of mass destruction. The path toward these weapons is taking two directions. The first is the active modernization of existing mechanisms and rocket- or aircraft-type carrier vehicles. The second is the development of a completely new generation of relatively accurate types of self-guided weapons, designed on the basis of different physical principles than govern existing types. Their guidance, similar to that of strategic nuclear systems, serves once more the same specific goal. They are intended to help American imperialism attain military superiority over socialism. These are not defensive weapons but weapons for a purely aggressive strategy. There is talk of the "Rogers doctrine." It derives its name from the supreme commander of the armed forces of the NATO Alliance, U.S. four-star general Bernard Rogers, who devised and fought for this doctrine as a concept of combined air and ground combat (air-land battle). At last November's session of the NATO Military Planning Committee in Brussels the Rogers doctrine was approved as the official strategy of this military alliance.



The characteristic features of this doctrine lie in the assumption that, compared to previous doctrines which figured on the conduct of military operations between the Elbe River and the Rhine, future combat activity would be transferred from its very beginning directly onto the territory of the socialist countries allied in the defensive organization of the Warsaw Pact. This requires a qualitative change in the further growth of firepower and strike power. [It calls for] a surprise maneuver, sustained movement and a lightning-like strike at the formations of the advance elements of the enemy. That is why new weapons having a long range, a high degree of accuracy and the ability to be utilized in various combat situations are being introduced in American ground forces. That is why they are constantly improving the possibilities of their application under conditions of radio-electronic combat. And that is why the American generals are striving so much for more effective systems of command, communication and reconnaissance, as well as the resistance of weapons systems to the effects of weapons of mass destruction.

Powerful strikes by these highly precise and highly effective weapons into the entire depth of the enemy operational order of battle--as the planners of NATO are promising themselves--would allegedly make it possible for them to gain victory in the beginning phase of the war without making it necessary to utilize nuclear weapons. The extent of the attack they are planning can certainly be best attested to by the proclamation of its authors in the U.S. Congress and elsewhere. For example, in the fifth issue of the specialized West German military journal WEHRTECHNIK for 1983 an article says: "Scattered strikes will be conducted across the entire European battlefield into the entire depth of the three most western military districts of the Soviet Union--the Baltic, the Belorussian and the Carpathian."

As an example of such a typical weapon featured in the Rogers doctrine it is possible to list the new long-distance antitank complex which will be capable of destroying an entire tank group at a distance of 30 to 200 km. This system, which is called Assault Breaker, is made up of a reconnaissance and guidance aircraft having a side-looking Pave Mover radar station capable of "seeing" over the horizon up to 200 km, a ground-based SOTAS guidance radar center and T-16 and T-22 missiles. The first of these missiles is designed on the basis of the Patriot anti-aircraft guided missiles and the second on the basis of the Lance guided missile. The T-22 is equipped with a laser gyroscope and has a range of 150 km; the T-16 has a range of up to 200 km. The warhead of each missile has about 20 antitank projectiles with independent guidance to a target. According to American specialists, one such rocket is designed to destroy about 10 tanks.

It is certainly not without interest that even in this case the largest American firms of the military-industrial complex are being hired. For example, the T-16 missile comes from the Martin-Marietta Corporation which is noted for the production and the development of the Pershing 2 rocket--a missile for the first nuclear strike. The T-22 missiles are produced by the Vought Corporation. Other firms such as Boeing do not wish to be left behind in this area. Its developmental enterprises have prepared the T-19 missiles within the framework of the competitive contest.

An equally well-known California company, Northrop Corporation, which produces Phantom-type aircraft and is working on the superstrategic "invisible" Stealth aircraft, is also being heard from with respect to this category of weapons. They are coming out with the NV-150 missile which is actually a cruise missile powered by a turboprop engine facilitating a range of more than 400 km. It would "consult" coded signals during its flight to the target--signals which would be emitted at regular time intervals from various directions by special military satellites.

Another example of these new conventional weapons having a heightened effect is the so-called "vacuum bomb." This is a warhead with a so-called volume explosive effect. Inside the bomb is a special fluid which upon being dispersed somewhat like an aerosol, mixes with air to form an explosive mixture. The force of the explosion and the destructive effect of this kind of new munition is already six times that of the effect of a similar explosive munition filled with a classic TNT explosive. And as Pentagon specialists have written, it is expected to be 12 times more effective than conventional explosives in the future.

American generals consider the Copperhead to be a highly effective and very accurate weapon. This is an artillery shell fired from a howitzer but guided to its target by a reflected laser beam. At the Pentagon they have figured out that to hit an enemy point target with classical projectiles would require about 240 rounds; when using the Copperhead ammunition, over a distance of 16 to 20 km, one or two rounds would suffice. Just during the first half of the 1980's, American ground forces are purchasing some 44,000 of these shells at an overall price of \$1 billion.

These new weapons, in conjunction with the most modern Abrams M-1 tanks, infantry personnel carriers, UH-60 combat helicopters, a substantial number of high-quality more advanced rockets, artillery weapons for conventional as well as nuclear attacks, antiaircraft and antitank weapons and other weapons systems contribute to the overall strengthening of the divisions of the United States and the NATO nations by roughly 50 percent. That is to say, those divisions which stand in the vicinity of the borders of Czechoslovakia and the GDR.

In this connection a logical question rises: Does all of this not suppress the main emphasis on nuclear weapons in the strategy of the United States and of NATO? Is this not all supposed to be some kind of "camouflage" or "band-aid" in the face of everything which has thus far acted upon public opinion in the West with respect to the deployment of new American rockets of the first nuclear strike in western Europe?

The answer is clear: No! It is necessary to see that the new Pershings and cruise missiles permit the Pentagon strategists not only the possibility of basing the concept of a first strike upon a new material-technical base but, in an organic connection with new conventional weapons, allow them to see these developments as a means for further lowering the "nuclear threshold."

By obscuring the differences between conventional and nuclear weapons, American militarists de facto are preparing to change the European continent to the staging area for "limited" nuclear warfare, even if they claim the contrary for outward appearances. New American first-strike nuclear rockets in western Europe on the one hand and accelerated development of high-quality new types of conventional weapons not only speed up the dangerous escalation in the armaments race but heighten the risk of nuclear apocalypse. Even the more realistically thinking politicians of many Western nations are reaching the correct conclusion that security in Europe can be guaranteed only by rejecting this dangerous Washington strategy which assigns to western Europe the unenviable task of becoming the "nuclear hostage" of the Pentagon.

5911

CSO: 2400/222

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

ROUND TABLE DISCUSSION: YALTA 'MYTHS AND REALITIES'

AU291812 [Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech and Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 25 January 1985 on pages 4 and 6 respectively carry a 3,800-word roundtable discussion, entitled "The Myths and Realities of Yalta," with RUDE PRAVO staff journalist Jaroslav Mazal acting as moderator.

The following "historians and international policy experts" take part in the discussion: Oscar Krejci, of the Institute for Philosophy and Sociology attached to the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences; Robert Kvacek, of the Philosophy Department of the Prague Charles University; Miloslav Nejedly, of the Prague Military Historical Institute, Ervin Pauliak, of the Bratislava branch of the Military Historical Institute; Zdenek Prochazka, of the Prague Military Historical Institute; and journalist Josef Skala.

The introduction to the discussion states that "in the West of late, many intentionally distorted explanations pertaining to the [February 1945] Yalta conference have come into circulation, interpreting its course and outcome in a false light as some sort of a source of army of the difficulties of current international developments." This is the reason for holding the discussion.

The participants in the discussion, among other things, devote considerable attention to the "solution of the Polish problem" at the Yalta conference.

Asked "what the Yalta Conference arrived at, concerning the question of the territory of postwar Poland and its borders," Krejci says that the "Soviet Government proceeded from the idea that Poland must regain the old Polish historical territory occupied by Germany during its "Drang Nach Osten" [German term used] lasting many centuries. J. V. Stalin proposed that the so-called Curzon Line be accepted as the basis of Poland's eastern border, the line delineated after World War I by the British diplomat Curzon. This line took into account the nationalities' boundary line between Poles on the one hand, the Lithuanians, Belorussians, and Ukrainians on the other. The Western powers agreed with that since this was a stance taken by the Government of Great Britain and the United States at the conference in Tehran, but actually already in 1919.

"The Western delegations also agreed with the thesis that it was necessary to return to Poland its Western territories, but, at the same time, cast doubts on the justification of such an enlargement as proposed by the Soviet delegation.

J. V. Stalin proposed that Poland's Western borders be set from Szczecin along the rivers Odra and Nysa Luzyczna. The leading representatives of the Western powers, especially W. Churchill, expressed a number of reservations about that proposal, with the result that Poland's western border was not determined at Yalta. Thanks to the USSR's determined stance, that question was then definitely decided at Potsdam," Krejci says.

On Mazal's suggestions that "according to one thesis, strenuously spread in the West, Yalta allegedly became the scene of the alleged division of the spheres of influence in Europe among the superpowers...", Nejdely says, "Yes, that too is one of the favorite myths. Assertions about a 'parcelling of Europe' are nonsense and have nothing in common with historical truth. The ideologues of imperialism began to talk about 'spheres of influence' after the war, when it was discovered that European some nations decided to free themselves from imperialist influence and chose the path of socialist development. Had not, namely, national, democratic, and socialist revolutions occurred in the countries of central and southeast Europe, and had these states remained a part of world imperialism, reactionary bourgeois historians would certainly not be talking about 'spheres of influence.'

"The Yalta Conference," Nejdely continues, "was resolving the principles of the postwar order of the world. It adopted the Declaration on Liberated Europe, in which representatives of the three powers agreed that 'introducing order to Europe and restructuring the economic life of nations must be carried out in a way that would enable the liberated nations to destroy the last vestiges of Nazism and fascism, and create a democratic system which they themselves choose.'

"These principles, without doubt, corresponded to the objectives of the anti-fascist struggle of nations, to the objectives of the antifascist liberation war. However, the ruling bourgeoisie of the United States and Great Britain calculated on making use of the conclusions of that document for overt and 'legal' interference in the internal affairs of the states of central and southeast Europe, as they proved by the military suppression of the liberation movement in Greece.

"American diplomat Averell Harriman, himself a participant in the Yalta Conference, later admitted that the United States and Britain were anxious about the advance of the Red Army into Eastern Europe, but 'could not prevent it.' Just as they could not influence the setting up of governments in liberated countries.

"Let us add today that postwar governments that were not in accordance with the ideas of imperialist circles were coming into being in many European countries. And precisely here lies the roots of the myths about the division of the world into 'spheres of influence,'" Nejdely says.

Continuing on the same theme, Krejci states that the 'Yalta Agreements were, moreover, aimed at a just and permanent order of the world in the postwar Europe. However, a number of bourgeois politicians see these agreements as a provisional stage. They view the postwar order of the world not as the



result of the endeavor to prevent another world war, but as a situation that must be overcome by 'folling back' communism or, allegedly, by 'liberating' Eastern Europe.

Asked "why other agreements of Yalta are also the target of attacks by reactionary circles?"--Prochazka answers: "Because these circles cannot reconcile themselves to the fact that the conclusions approved by the Yalta Conference were the expression of the reality of the final stage of World War II. It is obvious that someone does not intend to admit that the Western Powers could not win the war with Germany and Japan without cooperation with the Soviet Union, and therefore also could not decide the postwar fate of nations alone.

"Therefore, bourgeois falsifiers of history are trying to interpret the struggle of the popular masses for national and social liberation, and the socio-political struggle, in the world after World War II as the consequence of 'concessions' made to the Soviet Union in Yalta. For this reason they attack the agreements of the conference on Poland, on setting up the Provisional Polish Government of National Unity, as well as the agreements on the unification of the democratic forces of Yugoslavia. U.S. reactionary circles are even spreading views that Eastern Europe was allegedly 'sold out' at Yalta," Prochazka says at one stage of the discussion.

CSO: 2400/256

## DEPUTY PREMIER LUCAN ADDRESSES PACEM IN TERRIS CONGRESS

LD051406 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1100 GMT 5 Feb 85

[Text] The third statewide congress of the Czechoslovak Pacem in Terris Association of Catholic Clergy continued with the 2d day of its proceedings today in the Palace of Culture in Prague. Federal Deputy Premier Matej Lucan addressed the participants during this morning's debate.

[Begin Lucan recording] In recent years we have achieved considerable success in the all-round development of our beloved homeland. The conclusions of the 16th CPCZ Congress, the leading force in our society, are being successfully implemented, and in today's world this is not something to be taken for granted. Yes, we do have a number of problems that must be tackled; no, not everything gives us cause for satisfaction, and we would like to see even better results. Nevertheless, we can approach with pride and confidence the 40th anniversary of the culmination of the national liberation struggle of our people and the liberation of our country by the Soviet Army. Over these 40 years not only the material strength, but also the cultural and spiritual wealth of our country has increased many times over. Our society is a thousand times more democratic than those that attack us and accuse us of totalitarianism. We have built a society which has a clear and sure future. It is along the socialist path, and along the socialist path alone, that our country will proceed to greater material, cultural and spiritual wealth, to newer glory and to the greatness heralded by its national history.

Allow me in this context to express appreciation of the fact that believers of all faiths, including the Roman Catholic Church, play a full part in building the CSSR in indivisible unity with our people. The great majority of them support the internal and peaceful foreign policy of the National Front; they are to be found in the ranks of the brave builders of our industry, agriculture, science, technology and culture. Our socialist society, after all, unites the people regardless of whether they have religious affiliations. It unites them in common work to build a better and more just order and to safeguard their peaceful future.

The substantial majority of Roman Catholic clergymen and senior church representatives are well aware that Catholics in our socialist country live and exercise their faith freely, and they encourage their believers to work honestly for their country. And this is the basis on which the relations of

of mutual trust are gradually being built: the trust of church representatives in the state and in society, and the trust of the state and society in them. The Association of Catholic Clergy is the embodiment and the guarantor of the legitimacy of this trust. [end recording]

CSO: 2400/256

## CATHOLIC CLERGY CONFERENCE CONVENES IN PRAGUE

LD041026 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 4 Feb 85

[Text] The third country-side congress of the Association of Catholic Clergy of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, Pacem in Terris, opened in the Palace of Culture in Prague today. Her is a report on the proceedings by Stanislav Benda:

About 350 catholic clergymen, delegates to the congress from all regions of Czechoslovakia, have assembled in the social hall of the Palace of Culture. the front of the hall is decorated with the Czechoslovak state flag, a symbol of Pacem Terris, the association's slogan "To Serve and To Help," and a drawing of two doves. Attending the congress are bishops, capitular vicars, representatives of theologial faculties and of other religious institutions, and also representatives of similar peace movements from the USSR, Poland, Hungary and the GDR, and representatives of the Berlin Conference of European Catholics and the Christian Peace Conference. Also present are representatives of the Czechoslovak Peace Committee. Also welcomed at the deliberations were Matej Lucan, federal deputy premier, and other guests.

The purpose of this congress is to assess the work of the Czechoslovak Association of Catholic Clergy, Pacem in Terris, which was founded in 1971 and whose activity has followed the positive traditions of the former peace movement of Catholic Clergy. Of course, the congress is also to set down future tasks aimed at supporting the construction effort of our people, at ensuring peace in the world and at the positive development of relations between the Roman Catholic Church and the Czechoslovak state.

All the above points were mentioned in the opening address delivered by the association's chairman of the Czech Socialist Republic Capitular Dean Vaclav Javurek, who said, among other things: We do not live in memories of the past but we shall contribute, at all times and in all situations, to creating a better future, and to support the efforts of our people. The future of the world depends on people to whom we belong. If all priests' tasks are pastoral tasks then this participation of ours, too, is one of those tasks. Hence our interest in and support for all that is good taking place in our homeland.

The opening address was followed by the first part of the discussion. The congress deliberations will continue tomorrow.

NEGATIVE SURVIVALS OF PAST ANALYZED

Prague ZIVOT STRANY in Czech No 25, 1984 pp 55-57

/Article by Vladimir Cechak: "Struggle Against Survivals of the Past and Negative Phenomena in People's Thinking and Behavior"/

/Excerpts/ To formulate people's socialist consciousness means to influence, in harmony with the building of a socialist society, their thinking and opinions, while purposefully formulating their attitudes according to the moral codex of builders of socialism.

The classics of Marxism-Leninism themselves already warned against the lagging of social awareness behind the development of the social being, the fact that human awareness is not always capable of reacting promptly to changes occurring in society. This results in a situation where human behavior in certain aspects no longer reflects the existing system of social relations, which is dominant in a given form of socialist existence. In this we see one the basic factors evoking negative phenomena in peoples' behavior, i.e., phenomena which are not in harmony with the given system of social relations.

Negative phenomena in people's behavior in a socialist society cannot be reduced merely to survivals of the past; however, they do represent their foundation.

A survival of the past is behavior which, due to its content, character, function and form, reflects a no longer existing system of social relations (i.e., is a more or less organic component of social relations which belong in the past, in past socioeconomic formations, or socioeconomic stages which have already been surpassed). It is human behavior which is in contradiction with progressiveness and, through its objective impact, as well as often subjective motivation, acts against progressive developmental tendencies of a given stage of social development, or gainst progressiveness of social development as a whole. In this sense, every type of survival of the past in human behavior may be termed a negative phenomenon.

Most dangerous are those negative survivals of the past in human behavior which have to do with the class struggle between the wokers class and its allies on the one hand and the defeated exploiter classes and related social groups on the other. These negative phenomena in human behavior stem quite consciously



and intentionally from the base of social relations alien to socialism, and their task is to slow and deform as much as possible the advance of socialist societal relations. The bearers of these negative manifestations are the remnants of the antagonist classes hostile to socialism. For this reason, the struggle against such phenomena is usually linked with a consistent class struggle against their bearers, representatives of antisocialist social classes.

Another type of negative phenomena in the first stage of building socialism are those emanating from the relatively delayed social awareness behind social reality. These are, in the first place, those forms of human behavior which are closely tied to the still surviving old-world outlook. A specific position in this is held by religion. Yet, the struggle against religion is not a fight against believers but rather a fight for them. The decisive role in this is played by consistent and suitably applied ideological education.

Often encountered survivals of the past and negative phenomena in the first stage of building a socialist society are those which stem organically from the life style typical of nonproletarian strata and classes of the former society. In content and form, these are manifested in many varied incarnations which we normally sum up in the term petty bourgeoisie. While in the 1950's and 1960's (in Czechoslovakia especially in the second half of the 1960's) the greatest danger to socialism was represented by those negative phenomena linked with the political orientation of the remnants of hostile elements, aimed at the gradual disintegration of the new socialist relations, in the 1970's the situation has in a sense changed somewhat. The overcoming of the 1968-69 crisis and the defeat of the rightist forces created prerequisites for the final social disarmament of the antisocialist forces. This basically liquidated any room for those negative phenomena (sabotage, destructive activity, etc.) which were purposely and consciously aimed at the very substance of socialism. This, however, should not reduce class vigilance toward the antisocialist forces which make use of every opportunity to disrupt the building of a socialist society.

In the process of shaping the new socialist human being, there is increasing significance in the struggle against the negative phenomena and survivals linked to the orientation which no longer corresponds to the current stage of social development, such as religion, and especially petty bourgeoisie.

A part of this struggle stemming from the obsolete world outlook is also the struggle against the religious world concept. This struggle and education toward a scientific world orientation must be purposefully joined to the practice of building socialism. In this connection, we must emphasize that an activist approach to life and the world, activist, purposeful behavior which is in harmony with objective natural and social legalities, lead to true freedom for human beings.

One of the most often repeated terms found in petty bourgeois concepts is democracy. For the party bourgeois, the ideal model of democracy is the classical prototype of early bourgeois democracy contained in the works of certain ideological precursors of the great French bourgeois revolution, for example, Voltaire or Rousseau. Such democracy, however, is in reality not feasible.

During the period of socialist construction, the petty bourgeois ideal of "pure democracy" plays a destructive role, aimed primarily against the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialist democracy, against a type of democracy which for the first time in history not only proclaims liberty as its program but actually implements it. Since the petty bourgeois sees in "pure and universal democracy" the only possible "guarantee of freedom," we should examine not only the gnoseological but also the social roots of this petty bourgeois concept of freedom.

This concept fully reflects the class social determinism of the petty bourgeoisie. Freedom for a petty bourgeois is, above all, freedom to accumulate property. Naturally, in accord with the objective position of the petty bourgeoisie, the freedom guaranteed by "pure democracy" is to protect the petty bourgeois from big business, with which he is unable to compete successfully. On the other hand, this freedom is to give full license to small business. This illustrates that the petty bourgeois conceives his ideal of freedom without consideration of the other classes in contemporary capitalist society, namely the big bourgeoisie and the proletariat. His concept of freedom and democracy is, therefore, devoid of class consideration. In reality, however, this classlessness of the petty bourgeois conception of freedom and democracy opens the way to the development and strengthening of exploitive production relations.

The classless approach typical for the petty bourgeois views of freedom and democracy is reflected in all petty bourgeois assessment of social processes. It includes political relations and the organizational sphere of society, and is reflected not only in opinions on the essence of the state but also in problems of the economy, questions of war and peace, and in the assessment of the current era and the forces determining its development.

A typical petty bourgeois approach to politics occurred, for example, in Czechoslovakia in 1968. Politics was characterized as free play of social forces in which all types of interests may be promoted, provided that the promoter accepts and masters the rules of the game.

In the economy, as in politics, the petty bourgeoisie often turns back to an idealized past, to the "good old days," while the position of artisans, tradesmen and private farmers is painted much better than it really was. The cornerstone of the economic organization in such a society is, according to the petty bourgeoisie, appropriately limited private ownership, ambition, diligence, and entrepreneurial imagination. The universal arbiter of such "economic activity" is, according to petty bourgeois opinion, the market.

The nonclass character of these approaches, their historical ignorance and vulgar empirism, the fundamental traits of petty bourgeois theories, make petty bourgeois elements one of the basic bearers of revisionism in theory and opportunism in the practice of building a socialist society. This was fully confirmed in this country in the late 1960's. As shown by the analyses of the crisis period, it was precisely the petty bourgeois element which represented the most fertile ground for revisionist deformations of socialism.

Another integral trait of petty bourgeoisie is nationalism. Nationalism, which rose during the formation of modern bourgeois states, survives in petty bourgeois ideological concepts and acquires a specific character conditioned to a great extent by concrete historical situations. It is closely linked with the illusion of classlessness and is aimed against proletarian internationalism. In emphasizing national differences and ignoring the principles of building a socialist society, it plays a highly deformative role. This reached its most organized expression in the various revisionist versions of "models of socialism," whose principal task it is to refute the universal validity of the basic principles in the development of a socialist society.

Yet, nationalism is not expressed merely in theory, it is strongly projected in, among other things, art and culture. Here it is typical for it to deny the class content and party-mindedness of these spheres.

Petty bourgeois nationalism is misused by contemporary imperialism in its attempts to disrupt the unity of the socialist countries. Bourgeois propaganda intentionally creates illusions of the special position of this or that socialist country within the world socialist system. It stresses that, given this special position, certain universal traits of socialist construction are not applicable in a certain country, or that its cooperation with the other socialist states is not beneficial or profitable for it.

Deformations of the relations between society and the individual are also typical for petty bourgeois ideology. It proceeds gnoseologically from the mechanical concept of society as an association of individuals bound together by mutual exchange of goods. Very often we also see in this uncritically adopted theories of the birth of society, typical for the prerevolutionary bourgeoisie. According to these versions, society represents a certain existential framework for the individual. It is only good as long as it enables the individual to achieve his own aims, making the individual the foundation of society. Society's interests, to the extent they are noted in petty bourgeois ideology at all, are merely the sum total of the individual interests.

These views demonstrate the misunderstanding of the dialectic relationship of society and the individual. The petty bourgeois vision of society is an idealized and generalized version of small producer relations.

Petty bourgeois thinking exclusively favors individual interests over those of society. Its characteristics include cupidity, egotism, individualism, ignoring of public interest, uncritical admiration of the values and examples of the consumer bourgeois society, disinterest in political activity of the one hand and mindless anarchism and radicalism on the other, nationalism, and a cynical attitude toward the fundamental values of socialism.

In everyday practice, petty bourgeois concepts of relations between the individual and society culminate in a tendency toward illegal self-enrichment to the detriment of society, are accompanied by nihilism with respect to society's interest, and serve as a type of pseudoscientific justification for parasitism and other amoral manifestations.

In studies on how to overcome individualist and egotist elements in the consciousness of people in a socialist society, it should be stressed that neither of these occurs as such on the theoretical level of societal awareness in a socialist society. We must also take into consideration the fact that individualism and egotism in a socialist society do not and cannot appear in the same form as we encounter them in bourgeois society. In a socialist society it is rather a question of certain aspects of individualist and egotist consciousness, which can play a negative role in its development by influencing peoples' behavior. We cannot agree with opinions reducing all elements of individualism and egotism in the consciousness of the contemporary socialist society merely to surviving signs of the former capitalist socioeconomic formation.

A specific role in the strengthening of individualist and egotist elements in the social consciousness of our contemporary socialist society is played by antisocialist ideology and bourgeois propaganda based on it. It uses all methods of ideological influence to strengthen these traits in people's behavior.

We must devote attention to the analysis of the objective conditions which allow the survival of individualism and egotism in the minds and actions of people even at the stage of building a socialist society of an advanced type. A socialist revolution removes private ownership in socioproductive relations and creates prerequisites for a fundamental change in all social relations, as a basic framework of human endeavor. A society building advanced socialism, however, is faced with a much more complicated task, namely to develop gradually a reproductive system of material and spiritual life which, by its character, structure and developmental orientation, would obviate now and in the future the appearance of the germ of any social relations which would not in their character be in harmony with the building of a socialist and communist society, i.e., which would objectively allow the appearance or reproduction of elements alien to socialism, be it in the sphere of human behavior or social consciousness.

The basic goal of a socialist society is the creation of optimum prerequisites for overall harmonious development of each individual, each member of society. All efforts of our working people, the policy of the communist party and the socialist state are aimed at this goal. The question of human freedom is being resolved in close linkage with individual responsibility and the development of socialist democracy. In a socialist society this is not merely a question of theoretical resolution of the problem of individual liberty. Marxism-Leninism understands individual freedom as a real social relationship. Therefore, a socialist society strives to create both material and spiritual conditions for the development of freedom. In practice, this is manifested by a better standard of living, growth of available free time, the expansion and accessibility of all spiritual, cultural and artistic values created by society. The growth of material and spiritual riches of a socialist society is thus in dialectical unity with the development of individual liberties.



CZECHOSLOVAKIA

COLOTKA RECEIVES PACEM IN TERRIS REPRESENTATIVES

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 20 Dec 84 p 2

/Text/ Yesterday, Prime Minister of the Slovak Socialist Republic Petr Colotka, in the presence of Slovak Minister of Culture Miroslav Valek, received in Bratislava bishops, ordinaries, the newly-elected Presidium of the Slovak branch of the Association of Catholic Priests Pace in Terris, and other representatives of the Roman Catholic Church in Slovakia.

The prime minister thanked them for their activist contribution to the implementation of the peaceful and constructive program of the National Front Government. He expressed his appreciation for their stand on peace, which is in full accord with the hopes of all people, regardless of political, class or religious affiliation. He stressed the civic and peace activities of the Pacem in Terris Association, which carries on in the noble tradition of our national revival leaders from the ranks of priests and, simultaneously, organically joins the peace movement of hundreds of thousands of people the world over, the position of many prominent leaders of the Catholic Church, actively supporting the world peace movement, relaxation of tensions in international relations, and understanding among nations. He took note of the contribution of Catholic priests in the preparation and successful course of the World Assembly for Peace and Life Against Nuclear War, held in Prague last year. He valued highly the fact that leaders and priests of the Roman Catholic Church have rejected attempts to misuse the church against our socialist system, something they also expressed in October of this year in their letter to the Congregation for the Clergy in the Vatican. In closing, the prime minister of the Slovak Socialist Republic thanked the representatives of the Roman Catholic Church for their efforts to date, expressing his hope that they would continue to bring desired results, in order that peace and tranquility, which are the cornerstone of the coming Christmas holidays, might be forever present in the life of our nations and nationalities, as well as with all people of good will on our planet.

The representatives of the Roman Catholic Church, in the words of their spokesmen, Bishop Jozef Feranec, chairman of the Corps of Slovak Ordinaries, Deacon Jan Zabak, chairman of the Slovak branch of the Pacem in Terris Association, and Prof ThDr Stefan Janega, dean of the Cyrillomethodian Theological Faculty,



assured our state officials that they would support the peace and building program of the National Front Government and would lead their parishioners to do likewise. Simultaneously, they voiced their assurance that they would strive for a strengthening of good relations between church and state.

9496

CSO: 2400/196

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CHANGES IN LEGAL FEES, DUTIES ANNOUNCED

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 27 Dec 84 p 2

[Excerpt from statement by Prof Josef Mecel, chairman of the Constitutional and Legal Committee of the Czech National Council: "Changes in Duties and Legal Fees"]

[Excerpt] The Czech National Council [CNR] and Slovak National Council [SNR] both approved at their December sessions a law concerning duties and a law concerning legal fees. The new laws of the CNR, and especially the law regarding duties (the same is true of the laws of the SNR), mark a substantial change in current practices as codified in laws from 1964 and 1966 (Law No 24/1964, SBIRKA ZAKONU, concerning duties and Law No 116/1966 SBIRKA ZAKONU, concerning legal fees). What are these changes? For an answer to this question the editorial offices of RUDE PRAVO went to Prof Josef Mecel, chairman of the Constitutional and Legal Committee of the CNR. His answer follows.

In the currently valid legal code, which was instituted in the period of the changeover from capitalism to socialism, there quite naturally had to exist elements limiting the remnants of capitalism. In particular, duties in the form of a progressive duty rate structure exerted a repressive function on huge property holdings, which had their roots in various forms of exploitation of man by man in the bourgeois republic.

At present, the basic source of material goods for our citizens and their families are their incomes from work. The need has passed, therefore, to adopt in a new law a differentiated approach to property owned by our citizens. Citizen property is for the most part personal property, serving to satisfy the personal needs of citizens, their families, children and closest relatives.

The property of the majority of our citizens consists of things which assure their standard of living and corresponds to the quality and amount of work that they have performed in the building of socialism. The foregoing fact, which is a result of socialist changes, the fact that work incomes are now

the basic source of citizen property, and above all the consumption function of personal property fully justify a new concept of the function and role of duties.

The level of duties in the new law is dependent solely on the closeness of the relationship or other personal tie to the transmitter or devisor. For these purposes people are placed in three groups. Group I consists of spouse, children, grandchildren and parents. In the sale of real property and the inheritance and giving of property, the duty on transfers between members of this group will be 1 percent of the price of the property. Group II includes brothers and sisters, great-grandparents and individuals who have lived for at least 1 year with the grantor or devisor in a common household. For this group the duty has been established at 5 percent of the price of the property if sold, and at 20 percent of the price of the property if inherited or given.

This new legal code gives unambiguous preference to the material goods of socialist families and, in property relations, grants advantages to property transfers between closest relatives, i.e., those who had the most direct role in the creation of the property. At the same time, it eliminates the previously applicable system of rates graduated according to the price of the transferred property, and makes substantially less distinction between types of transfer, i.e., whether it is a paid transfer or inheritance or gift (in Group III). This has resulted in a substantial reduction and simplification in the rates for the transfer of all property. The basis for the calculation of duty on the sale, inheritance, or giving of property will be the price as established by new price regulations. This movement of the price of real property closer to its actual value will serve to strengthen socialist legality and the legal certainties of citizens in property transfer cases. In some instances citizens, often solely because of the duties involved, and for the most part close relatives, have hidden the sale of real property, so that in effect it has been a gift. Such avoidance of the law has not improved socialist legal consciousness and can even result in its misuse, by turning it against the interests of the actual donor, thereby seriously damaging the relationship between parents and children.

This substantial reduction in the duty structure for transferred real property has been accompanied by the exemption of other property up to a value of Kcs 50,000 from any duty, provided that it is given or inherited among individuals of Groups I or II. This new legal code is based on the fact that these are for the most part gifts between family members, consisting for instance of assistance from parents to children to help them to establish families, and that the exemption of such transfers from duties is in line with the current level of legal awareness of workers. For basically the same reasons all deposits in bank books, savings accounts or other accounts have been exempted from duty when these assets are given or inherited.

This change in the existing duty structure stems from a realistic evaluation of our society in which personal property, merit on the job, and incomes play a positive role by uniting the interests of the individual with the requirements of building a developed socialist society. The overall decrease in duties--even though it will reduce state budget receipts--is therefore a proper and just policy.

The existing code of legal fees has been in effect practically without change for almost 20 years. The nature of taxes, contributions and fees is such that they must correspond to the existing level of economic and social development if they are to retain their regulating and controlling function.

The change in the code of legal fees contained in the new law is based on the fact that the practice of setting legal fees primarily as a fixed amount has become obsolete over the past 20 years. The current level of legal fees has already lost its function, i.e., at least to some extent to avoid the outbreak of conflict in citizen legal relationships and lead citizens and organizations to the voluntary fulfillment of their responsibilities. Therefore, the new law and implementing regulations will add a financial aspect to the motivation of participants in legal actions to think twice before submitting frivolous suits and to attempt to resolve matters whenever possible by out-of-court settlements.

Since 1970 the number of civil conflicts and other matters before the courts has increased. In 1970 the courts resolved 23,880 cases, while in 1983 they handled 38,964. The growth of civil conflicts is not a positive social phenomenon, and the hope is that an appropriate code of legal fees can have some impact on the number of cases before the court.

As with other taxes, legal fees as well must fulfill their economic function. The schedule of legal fees therefore also takes account of the fact that there has been a real increase in the costs of court administration. For this reason legal fees that are a percentage of the amount of a settlement are more appropriate to the current status of socioeconomic development than those which are set as a fixed amount.

Both of these laws take effect on 1 January 1985.

9276

CSO: 2400/188

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

PACEM IN TERRIS ACTIVITIES REVIEWED

Prague KATOLICKE NOVINY in Czech No 51/52, 1984 p 1, 4

[Text] The secretariat for religious affairs of the Czech Ministry of Culture organized a traditional social meeting on the occasion of the year's end on 11 December in Prague. Frantisek Jelinek, director of the secretariat, received in the afternoon, together with his coworkers and in the presence of the head of the secretariat for religious affairs of the Czechoslovak Government, Vladimir Janku, the following ordinaries of the Czech dioceses: Bishop Josef Vrana, ThDr, apostolic administrator of Olomouc Archdiocese; vicar capitular, ThDr Karel Jonas from Hradec Kralove; vicar capitular and prelate Ludvik Horky from Brno; vicar capitular Josef Kavala from Ceske Budejovice; and vicar capitular Josef Hendrick from Litomerice. Also invited were the chairman of the Czech Association of Catholic Clergy Pacem in Terris, Vaclav Javurek, dean of the capitulary in Hradec Kralove; the secretary general of the Czechoslovak Association of Catholic Clergy Pacem in Terris, ThDr Zdenek Adler; the secretary of the Pacem in Terris Association and administrator Josef Stastny; and other members of the presidium of the Czech Pacem in Terris.

All participants were welcomed by the director of the secretariat for religious affairs of Czech Ministry of Culture, Frantisek Jelinek, who spoke among other things about the complexity of the current international political situation and the related growing activity of the reactionary militaristic forces. On the other hand, there is in the world a new phenomenon representing the great peace-loving forces which strive for the peaceful coexistence of all nations and for saving life on Earth. The churches and believers have a place in this activity. In our country, the Association of Catholic Clergy Pacem in Terris, which enjoys the support of the majority of bishops and vicars capitulary, plays an irreplaceable role in the peace movement. The association's work was also appreciated by the highest representatives of our country because it is in line with efforts to improve the welfare of the individual and his material and spiritual development. The association contributes widely to efforts to create the prerequisites for the solution of even the most complicated questions of joint interest between the state and the church on the basis of mutual understanding.



Bishop Josef Vrana expressed on this occasion his gratitude to the representatives of the state administration for organizing this meeting and for giving a chance to the clergy to express their attitudes. He emphasized certain concrete positive achievements in the development of mutual relations, especially in the area of the press, where our believers can soon expect to receive Bibles and catechisms, missals, and other publications. He assured the state representatives that next year, which will be the jubilee of St Methodius and the 40th anniversary of the liberation of the country by the Soviet Army, the priests and believers will continue to contribute to the country's development, will work for strengthening peace, and create the prerequisites for an understanding between our church and our state.

Dean Vaclav Javurek, vicar capitular and chairman of the Czech Association of Catholic Clergy Pacem in Terris, informed the gathering of the friendly reception of the association's delegation by Czech Prime Minister Josef Krcak. Among other things, he emphasized the atmosphere of brotherly community which characterized the proceedings of the Third National Congress of the Association of Catholic Clergy Pacem in Terris held in Brno. He stressed that service for peace is a pressing manifestation of our era of brotherly love and at the same time of love for the church and the people of our country. Service for peace naturally includes the creation of the prerequisites for an understanding between the church and state on the basis of good human relations. The secretary general, canon Zdenek Adler, informed the participants about the changes in the activities of the Pacem in Terris Association toward more involvement abroad and offered some recent illustrations.

Vladimir Janku, head of the secretariat for religious affairs of the Czechoslovak Government, emphasized that especially this year the Christmas message greeting "peace to people of good will" is more significant than ever before. Our times are very complicated and contain many dangers and risks. They differ from previous times in that they have great explosive potential which makes it possible to kill the people several times over. Simultaneously, these are new and great times because people of goodwill recognize, regardless of their race, nationality and ideology, the need to join, to unite their forces to face jointly those who want to destroy mankind through nuclear war. It has been shown on the international scene that nations cannot solve their disputes by war but only through goodwill accompanied by confidence and cooperation. In our country the Association of Catholic Clergy shows the ways for a positive solution of state-church relations.

The afternoon meeting was reserved for the representatives of the Cyril and Methodius Theological Faculty in Litomerice headed by Dean Prof ThDr Frantisek Vymetal; the Czech Catholic Charity headed by its director, canon Jan Mara; the managing editors of the Catholic press, KATOLICKE NOVINY and DUCHOVNI PASTYR; representatives of the Central Church Publishing House; and the Church Association. Frantisek Jelinek, director of the secretariat for religious affairs of the Czech Ministry of Culture, emphasized in his speech the positive activity of these organizations in 1984 and outlined their new tasks in connection with the important jubilees and activities scheduled for 1985. The director of the Czech Catholic

Charity, canon Jan Mara, thanked the representatives of the state administration for their effective moral and material assistance given to the charity as a religious organization and assured the state representatives of the further conscientious fulfillment of the tasks in the area of the social charter and church service.

The two traditional meetings were held in a friendly atmosphere. The invited guests once again assured the representatives of the state administration of their determination in 1985 to encourage social involvement and help in achieving the tasks in the peaceful building of our country, which is the best contribution toward strengthening mutual confidence and understanding in developing the relations between our church and the state administration.

The traditional social meeting ended with the mutual expression of good wishes for a joyful and peaceful Christmas and a happy New Year in 1985.

1277

CSO: 2400/198

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

KORCAK RECEIVES PACEM IN TERRIS REPRESENTATIVES

Prague KATOLICKE NOVINY in Czech No 51/52, 1984 p 1

[Text] Czech Prime Minister J. Korcak received on 10 December in Prague the newly elected representatives of the Czech Association of Catholic Clergy Pacem in Terris: chairman V. Javurek, dean of the Hradec Kralove capitulary; and secretary J. Stastny, administrator of St Anne's Church in Prague. Also present was Czech Minister of Culture M. Klusak. The two representatives presented to the Czech prime minister on behalf of the Third Congress of the association held in Brno on 12-13 November 1984 a letter which recognized the help the association has received from the Czech Government and other agencies of the state administration. The letter assured the Czechoslovak Government of the support of Pacem in Terris in its efforts to maintain and strengthen peace in the world. Elsewhere in the letter, the association emphasized the extent of the great restoration and development effort achieved during the past 40 years of peaceful and free life. It expressed the belief that Czechoslovakia has become an internationally respected socialist country, a fatherland and homeland for all honest citizens regardless of their religious convictions. "Our everyday pastoral service"--the letter states--"will not forget to encourage believers to show civic virtues, labor honesty, and sacrifice in order to involve the believers in the constant development of our mature socialist society in all respects." Prime Minister Korcak expressed appreciation on this occasion for the positive attitude and activity of the association in improving relations between the Roman Catholic Church and our socialist country and emphasized its information involvement in the struggle for maintaining peace in the world.

1277

CSO: 2400/198

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

NEW REGULATIONS ON ISSUANCE OF DISTRAINT ORDER

Text of Civil Code

East Berlin GESETZBLATT DER DEUTSCHEN DEMOKRATISCHEN REPUBLIK in German Part I  
No 31, 29 Nov 84 pp 373-379

["Third Implementing Regulation to the Code of Civil Procedure - Distraint on Chattels and Enforcement of Other Claims,"\* signed on 1 Oct 84 by H.-J. Heusinger, minister, Ministry of Justice]

[Text] As per Article 208 Paragraph 1 of the Code of Civil Procedure of 19 June 1975 (GBI I No 29 p 533) - hereinafter designated ZPO - and in agreement with the managers of the competent central state organs, the following is ordered:

First Section

Distraint on Chattels

To Article 118 Paragraph 1 ZPO:

Article 1

(1) Distraint on chattels is to occur only as far as necessary to meet the claim to be enforced and the costs of enforcement. Not to be distrained are chattels obviously unsuitable for such purposes. The same applies to chattels with a sales value obviously inadequate to meet the costs arising from their sale.

(2) If, after a completed distraint, a third party is able to prove to the secretary that he has a right to the item distrained, and that this right overrides the sale, the secretary may lift the distraint only with the consent of the creditor. If the creditor does not consent to the cancellation of the distraint, the third party is to be advised that he may apply for the determination of the inadmissibility of the distraint as per Article 133 Paragraph 1 No 2 ZPO.

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Second Implementing Regulation of 1 December 1977 (GBI I No 37 p 427)

To Article 118 Paragraph 2 ZPO:

#### Article 2

(1) Distraint of a chattel serving the livelihood of the debtor or his family is admissible if the creditor makes available a serviceable but less valuable similar item, unencumbered by the rights of third parties, and the secretary hands this chattel over to the debtor when removing the distrained chattel (exchange distraint).

(2) According to Article 11 Paragraph 1, the secretary must determine the value of the chattel made available by the creditor and become the property of the debtor; it represents an element of the creditor's enforcement costs.

To Article 119 Paragraph 1 ZPO:

#### Article 3

(1) If enforcement occurs on the basis of a temporary order or an execution order simply to secure a payment claim, distrained chattels may be sold only after the final determination of the claim which is the object of the temporary order or execution order and only on application by the creditor (Article 86 Paragraph 1, Article 91 ZPO).

(2) The immediate sale of a chattel distrained simply to secure a claim is admissible if it must be assumed that it will be spoiled or suffer a substantial decline in value during the period of distraint. In such a case, the revenue obtained by the court ordered sale takes the place of the item distrained.

(3) If, in the course of the enforcement of a temporary claim, execution order or execution instruction, it is necessary to distraint real property or a building owned by the debtor, the secretary of the kreis court within the scope of which the real property is located orders the distraint by way of a decision. Articles 2 and 3 of the Decree of 18 December 1975 on the Enforcement in Regard to Real Property and Buildings (GBI I 1976 No 1 p 1) apply. At this time, the consent of the creditor to the distraint of the real property is not required; it has to be supplied subsequently. together with the application for enforcement.

To Article 119 Paragraph 2 ZPO:

#### Article 4

(1) The secretary personally or a third person authorized by him may proceed to the enforcement, admissible after prior advice, of access to the home or other premises of the debtor as well as to the opening of doors or depositories located in the rooms to be searched. The secretary is empowered to use the force required for this purpose.



(2) If the debtor or a third party resists the enforcement or resistance is to be expected, the secretary must call in two adult citizens as witnesses to the enforcement operations.

(3) The secretary is authorized to call on the debtor to submit any money or chattels carried on his person and to search the debtor for money and distrainable chattels (pocket distraint). Pocket distraint may be carried out anywhere.

To Article 119 Paragraph 3 ZPO:

#### Article 5

(1) Court custody of distrained chattels takes place in court premises provided for that purpose. The chattels must be appropriately protected against damage or loss. If required due to the kind or nature of the distrained chattel, the secretary may authorize an enterprise to store or maintain it, or use other suitable premises.

(2) Chattels subject to distraint and left at the debtor's premises must be collected and taken into court custody before the court ordered sale, unless the court ordered sale is set for the location of the distraint. The debtor must be given notice of the collection. If such notice was given at the time of distraint, this must be noted in the minutes of the distraint.

#### Article 6

(1) Distraint of a weekend home, garage or structure serving recreational, leisure or similar needs, constructed on contractually used land (all hereinafter designated building) also extends to installations and plantings carried out by the authorized user on the land used. The secretary must point this out in the notice of distraint. The debtor may be allowed to continue using the buildings if the success of the enforcement is not threatened thereby; otherwise the secretary must stop the debtor from further use of the building.

(2) Following the distraint, the secretary must appoint an expert to ascertain the value of the building including installations and plantings. The assessed value shown in the expert opinion represents the purchase price; the secretary may lower it only after listening to the debtor and the creditor.

(3) The secretary must notify the legal entity or owner of the land used (hereinafter designated real property owner), the creditor, the debtor and the state organ competent for issuing permission for the establishment of a new usufruct right to the land (hereinafter designated permit organ) of the distraint of the building, the purchase price fixed as per Paragraph 2, the place and time of the court sale and the terms of sale (Article 17 Paragraphs 1-3); he must also make an appropriate public announcement. There must be a 1 month interval between sending this information, the public announcement and the date of the court sale of the building.

To Article 119 Paragraph 4 ZPO:

#### Article 7

(1) Amounts of money in domestic currency, distrained by the secretary or paid by the debtor to the enforcing secretary are to be used as per the instructions of Article 19.

(2) Amounts of money in foreign currency must be offered to the GDR State Bank for exchange for domestic currency unless coins are involved, which are part of a coin collection or have value as collectibles.

To Article 119 Paragraph 5 ZPO:

#### Article 8

(1) The secretary must arrange for the court decision required to cancel proprietary relations between the debtor and a third party and for enforcement against the third party.

(2) The judge must arrange for the enforcement of his decision. No separate application by the creditor is required.

(3) The chattel distrained at the third party must be taken into court custody.

To Article 120 Paragraph 1 ZPO:

#### Article 9

(1) If a kreis court enforces claims on a debtor simultaneously with respect to several creditors, or on behalf of a creditor with respect to several claims, the distraint on chattels is to proceed on behalf of all creditors' claims (simultaneous distraint).

(2) The secretary may refrain from distraint on behalf of one or more claims, if the claim is met within a reasonable time by the use of other enforcement measures, or if the sales revenue likely to be obtained by chattel distraint would benefit a preferred creditor as per Article 125 Paragraph 1 ZPO.

(3) The secretary may refrain from distraint on an already distrained chattel (successive distraint), if the prerequisites listed in Paragraph 2 are present.

(4) Successive distraint may take place on behalf of the creditor for whom the chattel has already been distrained, if this becomes necessary for the enforcement of another claim of this creditor.

To Article 121 Paragraph 1 ZPO:

Article 10

(1) The secretary must record in the distraint report every enforcement action directed to the distraint on chattels. The report must be expanded if enforcement is continued at a later date.

(2) The distraint report must include the following data:

1. The names of the creditor and the debtor,
2. The description of the enforcement title,
3. The amount of the claim to be enforced including the interest due and the creditor's costs of enforcement,
4. The calculation of the court costs of enforcement, that have arisen up to that point,
5. The name of the member of the household present and involved in the enforcement action instead of the debtor and his relationship to the debtor,
6. The names and addresses of witnesses called for the enforcement action,
7. The description of the course of the enforcement action including the receipt of payments from the debtor,
8. The statements of the debtor or household member involved and pertinent to the enforcement,
9. The statements by the secretary pertinent to the enforcement, including the necessary instructions to the debtor,
10. The consecutively numbered register of the distrained chattels which must be individually described in such detail as to avoid any confusion with other items, including data on their whereabouts,
11. The value of each distrained item as estimated by the secretary on the occasion of the distraint,
12. The confirmation of the accuracy of the report by the signatures of the debtor or the household member present, the witnesses and the secretary. Any refusal of signature and the reason given must be noted in the distraint report.

(3) If distraint was effected by affixing a distraint notice, a carbon copy of the distraint notice must be added to the distraint report. The report must note where the distraint notice was affixed.

## Article 11

(1) The secretary must ascertain the estimated value on the basis of price regulations for second-hand merchandise. He may consult expert opinions for the ascertainment of the value of distrained chattels.

(2) The secretary must always consult expert opinions to ascertain the value of distrained chattels produced by the use of precious metals, jewels and pearls or consisting of collections and public records, valuable crystal and porcelain, antiques and other cultural items or miscellaneous chattels, the value of which the secretary cannot definitely estimate. The same applies to buildings. No expert opinion on value is required for precious metals or precious metals scrap.

(3) Up to the time of the court ordered sale, the secretary may amend his estimate of the value of distrained chattels. The final estimated value must be entered as an addendum in the distraint report and notified together with the date set for the sale. The debtor must be notified at least 1 week before the date of the sale of any reduction in the estimated value.

To Article 122 Paragraph 1 ZPO:

## Article 12

(1) The court sale of distrained chattels proceeds in public unless otherwise provided hereafter. The secretary must appropriately publish the time and place of the court ordered sale (date of sale) and notify the credit and debtor at least 1 week before the date of the sale.

(2) Distrained chattels may not be sold by order of the court earlier than 2 weeks after distraint. This interval need not be observed if .

1. Money was distrained (Article 119 Paragraph 4 ZPO);
2. It can be proven that the debtor agreed to the immediate sale;
3. The nature of the chattel requires an earlier sale because it is perishable, or because longer custody or maintenance would cause unjustifiable costs to arise.

(3) The court ordered sale of the chattels described in Paragraph 2 No 3 may proceed outside the date of the sale (without restriction). The same applies to distrained chattels that, as per Article 123 Paragraph 1 ZPO, must be offered to state institutions if the secretary's written offer of sale is accepted.

(4) No warranty claims arise from the court ordered sale of distrained chattels.

#### Article 13

The court ordered sale must be minuted by the secretary. The minutes must be added to the distraint report; it must include:

1. The day and place of the court ordered sale,
2. The description of the items sold, referring to the distraint report,
3. With respect to each individual item, the name, address and identity number or date of birth of the purchaser and the purchase price paid for the item,
4. The confirmation of the accuracy of the data in the report by the signatures of the purchasers,
5. The settlement statement of the revenue obtained by the court ordered sale and the proposed distribution to the persons respectively authorized to receive it,
6. The secretary's signature.

#### Article 14

(1) If, before the date of the sale, the creditor offers the assessed value of the distrained chattel, and if the debtor agrees to the sale to the creditor, the secretary must freely sell the item to the creditor at the assessed value. In that case the creditor must pay to the secretary any outstanding court costs of the enforcement.

(2) If a distrained item was sold to the creditor by order of the court, the purchase price is to be credited to the creditor's enforceable claim as follows: First to the costs of enforcement, subsequently to any claim for interest and lastly to the main claim.

(3) If a socialist enterprise of the trade in second-hand merchandise offers the assessed value of a distrained item before the date of the sale, the secretary must freely sell the item to that enterprise. The debtor's consent is not required.

#### Article 15

(1) The assessed value of a distrained item notified with the date of the sale is the highest admissible sales price. The secretary may call for and consider only offers of purchase, which neither exceed the highest admissible sales price nor fall short of it by more than 50 percent (admissible price).

(2) The secretary must offer the distrained item at the assessed value. If no offers of purchase at the assessed value are received, the secretary must offer the item at reduced prices. The price reductions should not on any respective occasion exceed 10 percent of the assessed value.



(3) If the item cannot be sold at an admissible price even after several price reductions, another attempt at selling it is to be made on a second date of sale. If the items cannot be sold even on that second date of sale, the secretary should try to freely sell it at an admissible price.

(4) A second date of sale should be fixed also if the secretary expects a higher admissible bid on the second date of sale.

(5) The secretary must cancel the distraint on the chattel and return the chattel to the debtor if it cannot be sold at an admissible price. If the debtor does not take the item back, it must be left in court custody. The provisions of Article 31 apply.

#### Article 16

(1) A distrained item must be sold to the buyer who has offered the highest admissible purchasing price. If several interested parties submit identical bids at the highest admissible purchasing price, the item must be sold to the bidder whose offer was received first. If the identical bids were received at the same time, the decision is to be made by lot.

(2) If, on the date of the sale, a socialist enterprise of the second-hand trade and other interest parties offer identical purchasing prices, the item must be sold to the enterprise.

(3) If the creditor offers the highest purchasing price on the day of sale, the item may be sold to him without a prior hearing of the debtor.

#### Article 17

(1) The court ordered sale of a distrained building may proceed only at the published purchasing price and against immediate payment on the day of sale. The usufruct relation between the debtor and the owner of the site ends upon the court appointed sale.

(2) If the owner of the site offers the purchasing price published on the day of sale, the building must be sold him.

(3) The building may be sold to another interested party only if the latter submits a certificate by the licensing organ on the day of the sale, to the effect that the establishment of a new usufruct relation between the prospective buyer and the owner of the site with regard to the land on which the building is constructed is permitted, and if the site owner has not submitted a valid bid. The court appointed sale of the building establishes a new usufruct relation on the original terms between the buyer and the owner of the site. If the debtor had earlier used the land free of charge or his payments were low, the site owner may require the buyer in future to pay the highest admissible rent.

(4) After the court appointed sale, the secretary must

1. Certify the buyer's ownership of the building and, unless the buyer is also the site owner, the establishment of the usufruct relation with regard to the site.
2. Inform the licensing authority and, if applicable, the site owner of the identity of the building's buyer.

To Article 123 Paragraph 1 ZPO:

#### Article 18

(1) If precious metal, precious stones, semiprecious stones or pearls and products made of these (jewelry, decorative articles, cutlery, and so on) have been distrained, the secretary must conduct the sale as follows:

1. Precious metals and no longer serviceable products made of precious metal (precious metal scrap) must be sold unrestrictedly to a state licensed wholesale agency at the official wholesale price;
2. Precious stones, semiprecious stones and pearls must be offered for sale in writing to an enterprise authorized to purchase such items;
3. Products of art historical value or of museum caliber, made of precious metal or with the use of precious metal, precious stones, semiprecious stones or pearls must first be offered for sale via the competent district museum to an appropriate state collection and subsequently to the state-owned antique trade;
4. The secretary must sell to the public at large any products made of precious metals, precious stones, semiprecious stones or pearls, which need not be offered for sale as per Nos 2 and 3 or were rejected by the agencies listed in Nos 2 and 3;

(2) Public records must be offered in writing to the appropriate state archives.

(3) Coin collections and individual coins of value as collectibles as well as antiques and otherwise protected cultural goods must first be offered for sale via the competent district museum to a state collection and subsequently to a socialist special trading enterprise. If no sale results, coins containing precious metals as per Paragraph 1 No 1 and other items must be sold to the public at large.

(4) When Paragraph 1 Nos 2 and 3 and Paragraph 2 apply, the secretary must append a copy of the appraisal to the writting offer of sale. If the offer of sale is accepted and the appropriate purchasing price agreed, the secretary must sell the distrained item unrestrictedly to the respective institution.

To Article 124 ZPO:

#### Article 19

(1) The secretary must first take off from the purchase money paid that amount of the court costs of enforcement, which has not been prepaid by the creditor, and pay it to the appropriate central bookkeeping office. The inpayment notice must be filed with the enforcement documents.

(2) The remaining portion of the sales price paid must be promptly deposited in the court custodial account. The secretary must promptly forward to the central bookkeeping office the payment orders required for payment to the respective authorized beneficiaries and note the issue of the payment orders in the enforcement documentation.

(3) The debtor is to be paid any amount remaining after all claims to be satisfied from the forced sale have been met.

#### Second Section

##### Enforcement of Other Claims

To Article 127 Paragraph 1 ZPO:

#### Article 20

(1) The enforcement of a claim to the handing over or the services of chattels also includes the enforcement of the payment of the costs arising for the creditor and the court costs of enforcement not met by the creditor's prepayment (Article 86 Paragraph 3, Article 176 Paragraph 3 ZPO). The provisions of Article 4 apply to the operation of enforcement.

(2) The secretary must draw up a report on every enforcement operation involving the seizure of an item to be handed over or its services. The report must include the data listed in Article 10, Paragraph 2 Nos 1-9 and 12 as well as particulars of the item seized from the debtor or handed over by him and, where necessary, of a chattel distrained to meet the enforcement costs as well as information on their whereabouts.

(3) If the creditor or a person authorized by him does not take over the item or service on the location of enforcement, it may be taken into court custody on behalf of the creditor. The provisions of Article 31 apply mutatis mutandi.

#### Article 21

(1) If the secretary fails to find an item to be handed over by the debtor on the premises of the debtor and cannot ascertain the whereabouts of the item, the secretary must interrogate the debtor on the whereabouts of the item, appropriately applying Article 95 Paragraph 1 ZPO, and require the debtor to guarantee the accuracy of his information on the whereabouts of the item. If

the debtor fails to respond to a summons to an interrogation or to provide the statement required, Article 95 Paragraph 2 ZPO applies.

(2) If the measures adopted against the debtor are without result, the secretary should search the debtor's premises for the item to be handed over once more after the lapse of an appropriate period. If the debtor has not yet submitted a statement--accompanied by a guarantee of accuracy--on the whereabouts of the item, the secretary may summon the debtor for interrogation once more as per Paragraph 1 and require him to make the statement. The measures may be repeated several times if they are expected to yield results.

(3) If neither the handing-over of the item nor a credible statement by the debtor on its whereabouts can be obtained, the creditor must be informed in writing about the lack of success of the enforcement. The enforcement is thereby finished provided the costs of enforcement have been recovered from the debtor.

(4) If the creditor reapplies for the enforcement of his claim within 1 year from the end of the enforcement action, the secretary may refuse enforcement if no success is to be expected from that action. If the creditor has obtained an enforceable claim for compensation against the debtor, enforcement of the claim for handing over is no longer admissible.

To Article 128 Paragraph 1 ZPO:

#### Article 22

(1) The secretary directs and supervises evictions. The secretary should appoint a suitable enterprise to carry out the removal unless the creditor makes available transportation personnel and suitable vehicles for the transportation of the debtor's chattels.

(2) To carry out the eviction, the secretary must obtain access to the debtor's premises designated in the enforcement title and, if necessary, proceed to opening doors and receptacles. The provisions of Article 4 apply.

(3) The secretary must draw up a report on the eviction. The provisions of Article 20 Paragraph 32 apply mutatis mutandi to the text of the report. The chattels removed from the debtor must be listed in the report with adequate descriptions; if items show damage, the kind and extent of the respective damage must be noted in the report.

#### Article 23

(1) In the course of enforcing an eviction title, the secretary must arrange for

1. The chattels of the debtor and the persons of his household (furniture, other household objects, books, clothing, linen, pets, and so on) to be removed from the premises designated in the enforcement title,

2. The debtor and the members of his households to leave the respective premises and take from them any keys to these premises they may hold,
  3. The collection of the costs that have arisen for the creditor with respect to the enforcement and the court costs of enforcement not met by the creditor's prepayment as per the provisions on the enforcement of payment claims. No separate cost decision is therefore required.
- (2) After the measures listed in Paragraph 1 Nos 1 and 2 have been carried out, the secretary must hand over to the creditor the evacuated premises and the keys taken from the debtor.
- (3) The secretary must enable the debtor or a person authorized by him to carry off the chattels by means of the transport vehicles made available.
- (4) If the debtor does not carry off his chattels, they must be taken into court custody. The provisions of Article 31 apply. The court costs arising by such custody are part of the court enforcement costs. The secretary may call on the creditor for advance payments of these expenses also.
- (5) Court custody does not apply to valueless and obviously no longer serviceable chattels. If such chattels are present in the premises listed in the enforcement title, and the debtor does not carry them off, the secretary must send them to a collection agency for secondary raw materials or have them destroyed. His decision and possibly the use of a sales price obtained must be recorded in the enforcement documents and the debtor notified.

To Article 128 Paragraph 2 ZPO:

#### Article 24

- (1) Unless otherwise provided hereinafter, the enforcement of an eviction order always presumes the effective assignment of other housing to the debtor by the competent local council.
- (2) If the debtor is obligated to vacate part of his home or a section of the rental designated in the enforcement title, no prior assignment of appropriate premises is required.
- (3) If the debtor's obligation to vacate is based on an enforcement title as per Article 34 Paragraph 1 of the GDR Family Code or as per Article 33 of the GDR Civil Code, and if the creditor states in his enforcement application that no housing assignment to the debtor is required because the latter already resides elsewhere or may there reside or by marriage has become the co-proprietor of his spouse's home, the secretary must check this assertion by the creditor.
- (4) Together with his application for the enforcement of an eviction order, the creditor must either submit the assignment of housing to the debtor by the competent state organ and no longer legally contestable or, if such an



assignment is not required, state the circumstances leading him to conclude that the debtor has other housing available.

#### Article 25

(1) If the creditor fails to submit the required housing assignment with his application nor submits it subsequently within an appropriate time limit set him, the creditor must be informed in writing of the rejection of the enforcement application. The same applies if, despite using the facilities at his disposal, the secretary is unable to confirm the accuracy of the creditor's assertion that other housing is available to the debtor.

(2) To check the creditor's assertion that other housing is available to the debtor, the secretary may appropriately apply Article 95 Paragraph 1 ZPO and

1. Question the debtor about his having housing space available and require him to guarantee the accuracy of his statement,
2. Obtain the respective information from the state organ competent for housing allocations, the enterprise employing the debtor and the lessor of the apartment allegedly occupied or available for occupation by the debtor.

(3) The secretary may also check the accuracy of the creditor's assertion by an inspection of the apartment designated in Paragraph 2 No 2, provided the owner of that apartment agrees to such an inspection.

(4) If the debtor does not obey a summons to his interrogation or refuses the statement required, Article 95 Paragraph 2 ZPO applies.

#### Article 26

(1) When informing the debtor of the date of the eviction, the secretary should point out

1. That the debtor may avoid forcible eviction by prior vacation of the premises and payment of the costs of enforcement accumulated to that point;
2. That the debtor's objections to the eviction may be rejected as unjustified without closer scrutiny if the court only receives them in the last week prior to the eviction date, and if the debtor would have been able to submit his objections at an earlier time.

(2) The secretary must decide about objections raised against the eviction order before eviction begins (Article 135 Paragraph 3 ZPO). If examination of the objections leads to the conclusion that the eviction cannot take place for the time being, or that the prerequisites for eviction are not present, the secretary must temporarily halt enforcement.

(3) If no valid decision is possible before the eviction date on objections submitted by the debtor at the correct time, because the debtor's justifications cannot be checked in the time available, the secretary must cancel the eviction.

To Article 130 Paragraph 2 ZPO:

#### Article 27

(1) Enforcement of a decision obligating the debtor to pay to the creditor a specified amount as an advance for the costs of a substituted performance proceeds on the particular application by the creditor as per the provisions on the enforcement of payment claims.

(2) If the debtor prevents or obstructs the substituted performance by the creditor or persons authorized by the creditor, the creditor may apply to have the debtor compelled to tolerate the substituted performance by threatening and imposing an administrative fine, or revoke his consent to his authorization of the substituted performance.

(3) If the creditor revokes his consent to his authorization of the substituted performance, the court must rescind by incontestable fiat the decision empowering the creditor to substituted performance. The enforcement must continue to proceed as per Article 130 Paragraph 3 ZPO.

To Article 130 Paragraphs 3-5 ZPO:

#### Article 28

(1) If enforcement is applied for of an obligation imposed on the debtor by temporary order, the chamber must impose an administrative fine on the debtor without a prior hearing and instruct the competent secretary to proceed to immediate enforcement.

(2) Upon the enforcement of any other enforceable decision or court settlement not accompanied by the threat of an administrative fine, the chamber must threaten the debtor with an administrative fine in a specific amount and set a term to the fulfillment of his obligation. No appeal is admissible with regard to a decision threatening the imposition of an administrative fine.

(3) Imposition of an administrative fine may not exceed the amount threatened. If particular haste is indicated, the imposition of an administrative fine is admissible even without prior threat.

(4) Once the decision is valid in law, the chairman of the chamber must arrange for its enforcement. This proceeds for the benefit of the state budget as per the provisions on the enforcement of payment claims.

(5) If the debtor meets his obligations, the secretary must promptly lift his enforcement measures. Amounts already paid or collected with respect to

administrative fines are not returned to the debtor.

### Third Section

### Other Provisions

### Article 29

#### Enforcement Spheres

(1) The local sphere within which the secretary of the kreis court competent for enforcement may proceed to distraint on chattels and the enforcement of handing over obligations and evictions (operational enforcement), is defined by the borders of the rural or urban kreis--in Berlin, the GDR capital, by the borders of the city district--, for which the kreis court or city district court was set up (enforcement sphere). In urban kreises with several kreis courts, the enforcement sphere of each of these kreis courts is defined by the borders of the urban kreis.

(2) If an operational enforcement is to be carried out outside the enforcement sphere, the secretary must request the kreis court within the sphere of which the enforcement measure is to proceed, to proffer enforcement aid as per Article 93 Paragraph 2 ZPO. This latter court must carry out the enforcement measures as per Article 94 Paragraph 1 and Article 95 Paragraphs 1-3 ZPO, in observance of the requesting secretary's suggestions.

(3) Following execution of the request, the enforcement documents must be sent to the requesting kreis court, accompanied by a list of the court expenses incurred by the enforcing court. Any enforcement proceeds obtained must be transferred to the custodial account of the requesting kreis court.

### Article 30

#### Times of Enforcement

(1) Operational enforcement measures may not be carried out from 22.00 hours to 06.00 hours nor on Sundays and legal holidays.

(2) In exceptional circumstances, the director of the kreis court may permit the secretary to carry out an operational enforcement measure at night, on a Sunday or, if speed is of the essence, on a legal holiday. Such permission must be given in writing. It is to be shown to the debtor when enforcement takes place.

### Article 31

#### Court Custody of Chattels

(1) If an item belonging to the debtor is taken into court custody and the reason for custody lapses, the secretary must request the debtor to collect the item in custody within a specified period of time. At the same time the

debtor must be instructed of the consequences of any failure to collect the item in question.

(2) The period of time to be specified for the debtor should be so designed that at least 1 month intervenes between the delivery of the request as per Article 1 and the last date of collection. The period of time should not exceed 2 months. The obligation to court custody lapses 1 month after the end of the term set the debtor.

(3) If the debtor fails to collect the item kept in custody for him within the appointed term, a special fee is charged the debtor in addition to the court costs accrued by virtue of the custody. This fee amounts to 5 percent of the value of the item kept in custody but may not exceed M500.

(4) If the obligation to custody has lapsed, the secretary must dispose of the item in a manner consonant with national interests. The item may be sold if still serviceable, sent to a collection agency for secondary raw materials, or destroyed. The manner of disposal must be recorded in the enforcement file and the debtor notified. The proceeds of disposal must be used to meet the court costs. Any surplus remaining is due the debtor.

#### Article 32

##### Disposal Fee

(1) A special fee, amounting to 2.5 percent of the money to be distributed, is charged for disposal. It arises upon distribution

1. Of the proceeds of the court appointed sale of chattels distrained or kept in custody;
2. The money collected by the secretary as per Article 119 Paragraph 4 ZPO;
3. The sales price obtained at the court appointed sale of a piece of real property or building, a ship or naval structure.

(2) The fee as per Paragraph 1 may not exceed M75. If such a fee is generated several times with respect to one enforcement, not more than M100 may be charged in any calendar year. The fee amounts to a maximum of M500 with regard to the court appointed sale of a ship or naval structure.

(3) Following deduction of other court costs accrued in the course of the enforcement, the fee is to be taken from the money available for distribution. If that amount is insufficient to meet the fee, it is charged only in the amount available.

#### Article 33

##### Duty to Pay Costs

- (1) The provisions of Article 168 ZPO apply to the enforcement of a temporary

order issued in the course of proceedings pending only if the temporary order serves to settle a claim arising from the labor code or a claim for maintenance or family expenses.

(2) The provision of Article 169 Paragraph 2 ZPO applies in enforcement only if the enforcement is applied for by a citizen with respect to a claim for damages arising from a crime.

(3) No advance payment duty exists with regard to the custody fee as per Article 31 Paragraph 3.

#### Article 34

##### Effective Date

This implementing regulation takes effect on 1 January 1985.

##### Text of Criminal Code

East Berlin GESETZBLATT DER DEUTSCHEN DEMOKRATISCHEN REPUBLIK in German Part I No 31, pp 379-380

["Second Implementing Regulation(1) to the Code of Criminal Procedure of the German Democratic Republic - Issuance and Execution of Dstraint Orders," signed on 1 Oct 84 by H.-J. Heusinger, minister, Ministry of Justice]

[Text] As per Article 4 of the Law of 19 December 1974 on the Amendment of the Code of Criminal Procedure of the German Democratic Republic - StPO - (GBI I No 64 p 597), the following is ordered with respect to the implementation of Article 120 of the Code of Criminal Procedure of 12 January 1968 in the revised version of 19 December 1974 (GBI I 1975 No 4 p 62) and in agreement with the managers of the competent central organ:

#### Article 1

##### Issuance of the Dstraint Order

(1) The public prosecutor and, following submission of the indictment, the trial court also must at all times check whether the prerequisites for the issuance of a dstraint order (Article 120 Paragraph 1 StPO) are present. If a dstraint order is indicated, it is to be issued at the earliest possible time.

(2) Within the scope of their competence (Article 120 Paragraphs 1 and 5 StPO), the prosecutor and the trial court may issue a dstraint order also to secure the collection of additional proceeds as per Article 170 Paragraph 4 StGB or the payment of the countervalue.(2)



(3) The concern justifying the issuance of a distraint order (Article 120 Paragraph 1 StPO) is present, in particular, if--due to the large amount of money to be secured or the behavior of the accused or defendant--it needs to be assumed that future enforcement would be prevented or seriously obstructed by the accused or defendant or a third party, or if enforcement would have to be pursued abroad.

(4) No distraint order is to be issued if the amount to be secured does not exceed M500.

## Article 2

### Text of the Distraint Order

(1) The distraint order must list the type of claim and the amount of money intended to secure it. If the distraint order is issued to secure a claim for damages, the person damaged and the amount claimed must also be recorded.

(2) The distraint order must specify whether the distraint is to extend to the entire distrainable property of the accused or defendant, or to specific parts of his property.

(3) The distraint order must include an indication that enforcement may be halted by the deposition of securities.

(4) The distraint order must include the reason for its issuance and instructions regarding an appeal.

## Article 3

### Rescission and Amendment of the Distraint Order

(1) The public prosecutor and, after submission of the indictment, the trial court also must at all times check whether the prerequisites for the cancellation or amendment of the distraint order are present.

(2) The distraint order must be rescinded if:

1. The criminal prosecution has been definitely stopped;
2. The accused was validly acquitted;
3. The claim to compensation, to secure which the distraint order was issued, was validly rejected;
4. For other reason the securities are no longer needed;
5. The judge's confirmation (Article 121 StPO) was validly rejected.

(3) The distraint order must be amended if the amount of money to be secured is either increased or decreased.

## Article 4

### Format and Delivery of the Dstraint Order

- (1) The prosecutor decides the issuance, amendment and cancellation of the dstraint order by directive, the trial court by resolution.
- (2) The dstraint order must be delivered to the accused or defendant as well as to other parties involved. The dstraint order issued by the trial court must also be delivered to the public prosecutor. If the dstraint order was issued to secure a claim for compensation, it must also be delivered to the claimant.
- (3) The provisions of Paragraph 2 also apply to the decision on the amendment and cancellation of the dstraint order.

## Article 5

### Execution of the Dstraint Order

- (1) The dstraint order is to be executed by dstraint on the property of the accused or defendant, or the parts of his property designated in the dstraint order. The instructions of the Code of Civil Procedure of 19 June 1975 (GBI I No 29 p 533) on the enforcement of payment claims (Articles 96-126) apply to the dstraint with the proviso that the dstraint merely secures the claim; no payment to the authorized person or disposal of dstrained chattels is involved.
- (2) For the execution of the dstraint order, the public prosecutor enjoys the same powers as the secretary of the kreis court with regard to the dstraint of claims and chattels.
- (3) The public prosecutor must address his request for execution of the dstraint order (Article 120 Paragraph 3 StPO) to the secretary of the kreis court within the sphere of which the property values to be dstrained are located. The public prosecutor must assist the secretary of the kreis court in the execution of the dstraint order.
- (4) Unless they are left with the accused, dstrained property values must be handed over to the requesting public prosecutor. The provisions of the Decree of 8 November 1979 on the Care of Persons and the Protection of the Home and Property in Case of Incarceration - Custody Care Decree - (GBI I No 45 p 470) apply mutatis mutandi to the protection of the dstrained property values. The public prosecutor must arrange for the measures required thereto.
- (5) If the dstraint order was issued in the course of court proceedings, the secretary of the competent kreis court is responsible for the execution of the dstraint order and the court custody and protection of the dstrained property values (Article 93 ZPO).

## Article 6

### Security Deposit and Release

- (1) The accused or defendant may avoid the execution of the distraint order by depositing the appropriate amount of money at the State Notary's Office.
- (2) If money or a claim of the accused or defendant was distrained, some amounts may be released to authorized recipients at the application of the accused or defendant so as to meet the claims for compensation and other obligations secured by the distraint order.
- (3) The amount of money to be released and the authorized recipient must be designated in the decision on release. In the case of claims distraint, the third-party debtor must be authorized to pay the amount to the authorized recipient.
- (4) During the investigation the public prosecutor decides the application for release by directive, during court proceedings the trial court by resolution.

## Article 7

### Outlays for Distraint Proceedings

The expenses accruing to the state budget as a consequence of the issuance and execution of the distraint order represent outlays of the state budget as per Article 362 Paragraph 3 StPO.

## Article 8

### Appeals and Objections

- (1) In the course of distraint proceedings, appeals are admissible against a decision or measure of the public prosecutor as per Article 91 StPO, against a decision of the trial court as per Articles 305-309 StPO.
- (2) Objections and appeals with regard to measures adopted by the secretary of the kreis court for the execution of the distraint are admissible as per Article 135 StPO.
- (3) If the execution of the distraint order is opposed as per Article 132 ZPO or the distraint of a property value claimed to be inadmissible as per Article 133 Paragraph 1 ZPO, the proceedings defer to these instructions.

## Article 9

### Rescission of the Distraint

- (1) The distraint order loses effect 3 months after the effective date of the decision on the payment obligation for the security of which it was issued,

unless the claimant applies for enforcement within that period. The claimant is to be so informed.

(2) If the distraint order was lifted or lost effect, the distraint measures must be promptly canceled by the public prosecutor in the course of the investigation, by the secretary of the kreis court in the course of court proceedings.

(3) The secretary of the kreis court must also rescind the distraint measures if disposal of the distrained property values is no longer needed to meet the payment obligations for the security of which the distraint order was issued.

#### Article 10

#### Effective Date

This implementing regulation takes effect on 1 January 1985.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. First Implementing Regulation of 20 March 1975 (GBI I No 15 p 285).
2. See Article 16 Paragraph 2 of the Customs (Tariff) Law of 28 March 1962 (GBI I No 3 p 42) in the version of the Amending Law of 11 June 1968 (GBI I No 11 p 242), Article 19 Paragraph 2 of the Foreign Exchange Law of 19 December 1973 (GBI I No 58 p 574) and Article 14 Paragraph 2 of the Culture Protection Law of 3 July 1980 (GBI I No 20 p 191).

#### Commentary on New Regulations

East Berlin NEUE JUSTIZ in German No 1, Jan 85 pp 18-20

[Article by G. Rommel, prosecuting attorney, Office of General Prosecuting Attorney, and H. Piltz, scientific assistant, Ministry of Justice]

[Text] The Second Implementing Regulation to the StPO [Code of Criminal Procedure] - Issuance and Execution of Distraint Orders - has taken effect on 1 January 1985 (GBI I 1984 No 31 p 379). This legal instruction organizes distraint procedure in greater detail on the basis of Article 120 StPO to guarantee its even more efficient application.

The efficacy of criminal procedure is largely decided by the sophisticated application of criminal procedural measures relating to the resolute realization of the punishment and the speedy compensation of the damage. The distraint order as per Article 120 StPO is one of these measures. It is to be applied whenever it is necessary, by reason of the crime and its consequences as well as the criminal's behavior, to secure the realization of a judicial fine, excess proceeds seizure or countervalue payment (Article 1 Paragraph 2 of the Second Implementing Regulation to the StPO), the collection of the

outlays for the proceedings and the enforcement of claims for damage. If the offender needs to answer with his property for the damage he unlawfully inflicted on socialist property or the property of citizens, this needs to be secured by the issuance of a distraint order if the necessity arises from the amount of the payment obligation or the offender's anxiety arousing unwillingness to make payment. This measure is appropriate for encouraging the education process and emphatically reminding the criminal of his social and legal duties.

The distraint order represents a criminal procedural security measure, limited as to time and items, designed to guarantee that, following the imposition of a judicial fine, seizure of excess proceeds or payment of the countervalue, (2) reimbursement for the costs of the trial as well as following the valid decision on the claim for damages, the payment obligations may be promptly met from the convict's property. (3)

The distraint order to secure appropriate property values of the accused or defendant is carried out by distraint as per the regulations of the Code of Civil Procedure (Articles 96-126 ZPO). No payment from the distrained property values or their disposal (articles 122-125 ZPO) occurs at that time.

Existing property rights (Article 12 ZGB)--nor co-ownership rights--are not affected. However, the distraint order effects some temporary restrictions on ownership rights, for example the prohibition of disposal of distrained property values (Article 119 Paragraph 3 Sentence 4 ZPO). It follows that neither the owner nor third parties may dispose of these values (for example by sale, exchange or donation), or may do so only after the relevant amendment of the distraint order (Article 6 Paragraphs 2 and 3 of the Second Implementing Regulation to the StPO). (4)

#### On the Ascertainment of the Property Values Suitable for Distraint

It has been found useful for the public prosecutor at the very beginning of an investigation of cases that may call for the issuance of a distraint order to check whether and if need be which property values of the accused might be distrained for the existing or expected payment obligations. This does not exclude subsequent checks, because the amounts of damage and ascertainments of property values tend to change in the course of the investigation.

The result intended to be achieved by the distraint order largely depends on the quality of the first investigative actions, their exact preparation and execution. The public prosecutor should therefore endeavor to, for example, rationally use searches and seizures to obtain on the spot all available useful data on the accused person's ownership rights in chattels, real property, buildings, and so on. He should personally record and check relevant suggestions by witnesses, other citizens and the accused himself. Particular importance is to be attached to evidence of existing ownership rights (such as purchase contracts, invoices, delivery notes, warranties, insurance documents and motor vehicle registrations).



The interrogation of the accused is to be used to ascertain his income and property status. Some districts very successfully use questionnaires of their own devising and consult earnings certificates.(5) With respect to material assets, the special features and ownership data of those property values need to be recorded, which are to be distrained by distraint order. For practical purposes, reliable methods of description have already been developed so as to exclude confusion and allow definite identification. It will be necessary, however, to discover more rational methods, especially with respect to valuables (for instance in the case of coin, stamp or art collections, antiques and precious metal products).

The investigative duties relating to the issuance of a distraint order arise for the trial court at the time the indictment or application for the conduct of a speeded-up trial or the issuance of a penalty order is received; they also arise upon expansion of the indictment by the public prosecutor (Article 237 StPO).

#### Responsibility for the Execution of the Distraint Order

The execution of the distraint order by distraint on property values is the duty of the public prosecutor at the stage of investigation and of the secretary of the kreis court in trial proceedings. In the course of the investigation, the public prosecutor--if he personally executes the distraint order issued by him--must carry out the distraint procedure as per the ZPO instructions. Insofar he is invested with the powers of a kreis court secretary in regard to distraint on claims and chattels (Article 5 Paragraph 2 of the Second Implementing Regulation to the StPO). The public prosecutor must take custody of the distrained chattels and maintain their value. Until cancellation of his distraint order (if payment by the convicted person is not made voluntarily until the disposal of the distrained chattels following the effective date of the verdict), he must therefore guarantee the security of the distrained property and interdict damage, loss or diminution of value. The opinion published by H. Muelier in NEUE JUSTIZ 1984 No 7 p 285, that this responsibility is transferred to the trial court at the time the affair is handed over to the court, contradicts the present regulations. The same duties for security and protection are the responsibility of the secretary of the kreis court, who executes the distraint order of the trial court as per Article 120 Paragraph 5 StPO.

This modus operandi has been successful in practice and had satisfactory results with regard to the security of compensation for damage and the collection of judicial fines.

Distraint on the property of the accused or defendant is carried out up to the amount fixed in the distraint order; if concrete property values of the accused or defendant are designated in the distraint order, they alone may be distrained.

In the case of claims (Articles 96ff ZPO) and in cases involving real property and buildings, the third-party debtor and the real property service agency of the competent local council (Article 2 of the decree on Enforcement relative

to Real Property and Buildings of 18 December 1975 (GBI I 1976 No 1 p 1) are respectively assigned certain duties at the time of distraint (Article 99 Paragraph 2 ZPO). These duties are designed to prevent any dispositions by the accused or defendant with regard to the distrained property. No payment may be made to the creditor consonant with the security nature of these measures. If a third-party debtor should fail to carry out the duties assigned him with the distraint order, he is obligated to pay compensation as per Article 111 ZPO.

As per Article 120 Paragraph 3 StPO, the public prosecutor may employ the secretary of the kreis court to carry out the distraint order. Together with his written request to that effect, he must make available to the secretary the appropriate copies of the distraint order needed for the distraint. The limits and the extent of action by the secretary to the kreis court are defined by the text of the distraint order. On the basis of Articles 85ff ZPO, the secretary independently decides the details of the distraint measures, for example whether the respective property value is to be taken in custody or may be left with the accused after the distraint seal has been attached.

#### Determination of the Value of Distrained Chattels and Drawing up the Distraint Report

As a rule it will not be necessary at this stage of the proceedings to obtain expert opinions on the value of distrained chattels. In individual instances, the provisional appraisal by an expert may be advisable (for example if it is not possible to determine the time or trading value of the distrained chattels, or if it is to be feared that the chattels may diminish in value while distrained). It follows from the nature of the distraint order, that the value of the distrained chattel is not the primary consideration (it may be higher or lower than the money amount to be secured) but rather its salability upon enforcement. An expense expert appraisal on a piece of real property to check the usefulness of its distraint would therefore signify misunderstanding the nature of the distraint order.

Of course it is necessary at all times to strive for a balance between the sum of money noted in the distraint order and the distrained property values. Unfortunately this is not always feasible. The issuance of a distraint order and its execution, however, may not be dispensed with because the property value to be distrained is greater than the amount of money ascertained as per Article 120 Paragraph 2 StPO. In such cases any values exceeding the amount of the payment obligation will be returned to the owner after he has met his payment obligation or after enforcement.

A report must be drawn up on distraint measures carried out (Article 121 ZPO). The report must also show the costs arising from the distraint. If, at the public prosecutor's request, the secretary secures chattels by removal, he must hand these over to the public prosecutor with the distraint report, and the latter is responsible for their custody. If distrained chattels are left with the accused, it is enough to hand over the distraint report. Distraint orders and distraint reports become elements of the criminal file. If the

secretary of the kreis court executes a distraint order issued by the trial court, he is responsible for the custody of the distrained chattels.

### Third Party Applications for the Determination of the Inadmissibility of the Distraint

The quality of the ascertainment of the material circumstances of the accused or defendant and, therefore, his ownership rights, has achieved a satisfactory standard. Up to now it has been rare for a third party to apply for determination of the inadmissibility of distraint, because that third party enjoyed a right running counter to enforcement. Following oral proceedings, the competent chamber of the kreis court decides the civil justification of such third party applications as per Article 133 Paragraph 2 ZPO by resolution. Consequently the matter is referred to the chamber. The public prosecutor or the trial court decide on the basis of this resolution whether the distraint order is to be amended or possibly rescinded.

The proceedings before the competent chamber of the kreis court does not affect the pursuit of the trial. At this point we also wish to point out the distinction between third party applications for the determination of the inadmissibility of the distraint (Article 133 Paragraph 1 No 2 ZPO) and appeals as per Article 91 StPO. Appeals against the distraint order at the time of the investigation largely involve measures carried out by the investigating organ or the public prosecutor in the course of the execution of the distraint order. They are directed against actions relating to criminal proceedings, for example the method of distraint. The public prosecutor decides this kind of appeal. The subject matter of the appeal must be thoroughly examined. If the appeal serves to assert a third party's material-legal claims to a distrained item, the competent chamber of the kreis court must decide the appeal--unless the distraint is rescinded. The provisions of Articles 305ff StPO apply to decisions regarding appeals against, for example, the distraint order issued by the trial court. If the appeal relates to measures adopted by the secretary in the execution of the distraint order, the procedure is governed by Article 135 ZPO (appeal against resolutions issued in enforcement), even if the secretary is executing the distraint order of the public prosecutor.

### Observance of the Provisions of the Family Code

Distraint on the basis of the distraint order may also include the communal property of spouses. In such cases this property is liable as per Article 13 Paragraph 1 and Article 16 Paragraph 1 FGB [Family Code]. If the spouse of the accused or defendant objects to the distraint, the chamber for family law at the kreis court decides the matter on the application of the public prosecutor (Article 132 Paragraph 2 ZPO).

Upon executing the distraint order, it must be noted that the spouses' communal ownership cannot be established with regard to chattels acquired by moneys obtained as the result of a crime.(6) Unless returnable to the original owner, such material benefits derived from the crime are available for confiscation, restitution of damage or the payment of judicial fines.

Upon the distribution of property following divorce or in connection with the anticipatory rescission of community property (Article 41 FGB), the courts must make sure--in the interest of the protection of socialist and personal property that security and enforcement measures of state organs on the basis of property confiscations or due to judicial fines, restitution and other third party claims are not adversely affected for the benefit of one or both spouses.(7)

Upon execution of the distraint order, even greater care must be taken to find out whether there are indications of the conclusion of possibly invalid contracts (Article 68 ZGB). One accused person, for example, paid money obtained in the course of crimes into an account he had opened on behalf of his child (Article 239 Paragraph 2 ZGB), describing it as a "donation." Such "deposits," derived exclusively from criminal proceeds, do not represent a legitimate donation. It must therefore be assumed that the claim against the savings bank may be distrained within the scope of the distraint's execution.

#### Rescission of the Distraint Order

A distraint order is to be maintained as long as needed on the basis of a valid judgment to realize restitution obligations on the application of the injured party or pay judicial fines and collect the trial costs from the distrained property of the convicted person. The distraint order must be rescinded upon conclusion of the enforcement. Property values no longer required to discharge the payment obligations must be returned to the convicted person. The court is responsible for the rescission of the distraint order; the public prosecutor may submit the respective applications. The secretary lifts the distraint measures.

The reasons for the rescission of a distraint order before settlement of the payment obligations may be as follows:

- The result of the investigation or the findings of the trial no longer indicate the expectation of a substantial judicial fine,
- With regard to a distraint order issued for the enforcement of compensation claims, the offender had already settled such claims,
- ~~The investigation was definitely abandoned by the investigating organ as per Article 141 Paragraph 1 StPO, by the public prosecutor as per Article 148 Paragraph 1 StPO or the trial by the court as per Articles 248 and 249 StPO.~~

The rescission of a distraint order may furthermore be justified in the course of the investigation by the valid rejection of judicial confirmation or the rescission of the judicial confirmation of the distraint order following an appeal by the accused.

In such cases, all distraint measures must be promptly lifted. If the distraint order was issued to enforce a claim for compensation, the injured party must be informed of this measures.

A distraint order must be amended if, for example, the money amount needs to be increased due to further claims for compensation included in the trial or in expectation of the imposition of a larger fine. The distraint order also needs to be amended if, for example, distrainted claims of the offender are, upon his application, released to meet his restitution obligations and other important liabilities. Such readiness by the accused or defendant should be encouraged. In these cases, the third-party debtor is to be authorized to pay the set amount to the authorized beneficiary.

It is basically not envisaged for distrainted chattels to be released upon the application of the offender so that they may be sold and the proceeds take their place. If release is nevertheless considered appropriate, terms must be imposed to ensure that the chattel is sold at the present value, the proceeds of the sale takes the place of the distrainted chattel and is used to satisfy the claims for compensation for the realization of which the distraint order was issued. Such terms may apply, for example, to the ascertainment of the present value, the sale of motor vehicles to the Machine Construction Trade VEB or the involvement of the accused person's or defendant's defense counsel.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. See M. Goeder/G. Haabe, "Greater Efficacy of Trials by the Use of Distraint Orders Also," NEUE JUSTIZ 1983, No 8, pp 334f.
2. Upon the issuance of a distraint order to secure the realization of additional proceeds confiscation or the payment of countervalue, the following provisions of substantive law must be observed:
  - Article 14 Paragraph 2 Cultural Heritage Law of 3 July 1980 (GBI I No 20 p 191) in conjunction with Articles 19ff of the Decree on Enforcement due to Monetary Claims by State Organs and State Institutions of 6 December 1968 (GBI II 1969 No 6 p 61).
  - Articles 16 Paragraph 2 and 187 Paragraph 2 Customs (Tariff) Law of 28 March 1962 in the version of the Adjustment Law of 11 June 1968 (GBI I No 11 p 242, Ber. GBI II No 103 p 827) and the Amending Law of 28 June 1979 (GBI I No 17 p 147).
  - Article 19 Paragraph 2 Foreign Exchange Law of 19 December 1973 (GBI I No 58 p 574) in the version of the Amending Law of 28 June 1979 (GBI I No 17 p 147).
3. On the payment of judicial fines see Articles 2 Paragraph 1, 23 of the First Implementing Regulation to the StPO. On the realization of the additional proceeds confiscation and the payment of countervalue see Articles 34, 50, 51 of the First Implementing Regulation to the StPO. If enforceable compensation obligations are not satisfied voluntarily, enforcement on the obligated persons (debtors) is to be carried out upon



the application of the injured party (creditor) as per Article 66 Paragraph 1 ZPO.

4. If the accused or defendant infringes the prohibitions on disposal after issuance of a distraint order, he is criminally guilty of serious breach of custody as per Article 239 StGB or administratively responsible as per Article 3 OWVO [Misdemeanors Decree]. If he concludes contracts relating to the property values subject to the distraint order, these are null and void as per Article 68 Paragraph 1 No 2 ZGB.
5. See H. Piltz, "Tested Methods for the Enforcement of Claims for Compensation and for the Realization of Judicial Fines," NEUE JUSTIZ 1984 No 8, p 330.
6. See "Lehrbuch Familienrecht" [Textbook Family Law], Berlin 1981, p 127; OG [supreme court] Verdict of 29 January 1974 - 1 ZZF 26/73 - (NEUE JUSTIZ 1974 No 9, p 281).
7. See No 1.10 of the Directive of the Supreme Court Plenum on Judicial Verdicts relating to the Rescission of Community Property of Spouses after Ending the Marriage of 27 October 1983 (GBI I No 32 p 309).

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SED PURSUES POLICY OF ENCIRCLEMENT

Bonn DIE WELT in German 8 Jan 85 p 8

[Article by H.-R. Karutz: "SED Diplomacy Bypasses Bonn"]

[Text] The SED leadership in 1985 in no way means to let itself be pinned down to a visit by Erich Honecker in the FRG. Eying the important SED congress in April 1986, it seeks to improve the European reputation of the GDR through keeping closer ties with other NATO countries such as Italy, France and Greece intact. East Berlin is looking forward this spring to visits from French Premier Laurent Fabius and British Secretary of State Sir Geoffrey Howe. Moreover, in the course of the year, King Juan Carlos, Spain's first monarch, is expected in the GDR.

By such active travel diplomacy, which Erich Honecker already stressed in 1984 by hosting Olof Palme, Bettino Craxi and Andreas Papandreu, East Berlin intends to dodge the pressure in effect from the promised trip to Bonn. It is supposed to be undertaken only--if at all, in fall 1985--if it can integrate itself quietly and inconspicuously, as it were, within a still open "new quality" of relations between Moscow and Washington.

Facing such problems, which for the time being merely inspire new hopes within the GDR population itself, Honecker's reputation however is meant to be improved by several trips to the metropolises of NATO states. The intensity with which East Berlin is developing such bilateral relations while bypassing Bonn is expressed by the unusual circumstances of Honecker's announced trip to Rome.

Honecker to See Craxi

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND published these plans on the weekend without mentioning a concrete date for the trip. This was a wholly unusual practice thus far. Honecker's visit to Finland in fall, for instance, had been announced weeks ahead of time, to be sure, but with precise dates citing the Helsinki state chancellery as the source for them.

The ADN report from Rome merely said that East Berlin's Ambassador Hans Voss--who has held this important post for 6 years after being the head of the FRG department in the Foreign Ministry--had met with the diplomatic advisor of Premier Bettino Craxi. The partners in the conversation there had "corroborated" carrying out Honecker's counter-visit, "agreed on in principle, in months to come."

In a second announcement, printed right below the ADN report--likewise unusual and signaling East Berlin's pressing interest--"circles in the Italian Council of Ministers" are quoted. Ambassador Voss, so it is stated in indirect discourse, although all details came from GDR sources, had "corroborated" the intention by East Berlin to use all chances for expanding the areas of cooperation with Italy and providing them with a character of continuity.

The GDR's persistence in speedily making use of Craxi's invitation wholly conforms with East Berlin's new foreign policy line the Dresden SED Bezirk chief Hans Modrow described recently. Modrow in December told the INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE (DIE WELT reported it) GDR policy was not aimed at "provisional retirement." The SED top functionary said literally: "We shall be very active in our efforts at expanding our contacts with all western countries. We are seeking a peaceful coexistence with all countries, not only with the FRG."

There seem to be several considerations giving rise to these diplomatic initiatives by the SED leadership:

--Its own population is to be presented with the GDR's increasing weight in Central Europe in preparation for the SED congress in April 1986. The FRG is to be made to appear there merely as one state among many other western countries with which the GDR has neither more nor fewer ties than with any other NATO member.

--In the countries Honecker intends to visit, it is intended to alleviate the political blocking against the state with its walls and shooting orders and ongoing human rights violations.

--Through a sort of encirclement policy there would then stand, at the end of a period likely to extend to the second half of the 1980's, an FRG that has become dispensable for the GDR as an interpreter and agent in the western direction.

--Internally this could bring it about--and France has made a start of it with its cultural center in East Berlin--to "import" the western life-style (unavoidable anyway because of the electronic media) and still prohibit free travel.

Already in spring, important western guests are expected in East Berlin: Horst Sindermann (SED), president of the People's Chamber and the former chairman of the Council of Ministers, last fall finagled the trip promised by Premier Laurent Fabius to the GDR. This desire for his visit does collide, to be sure, with western wishes on account of its political status specifics--France is at the same time one of the four occupying powers in Great Berlin and a patron of the West Berliners.

Juan Carlos Comes Too

Bonn and the Senat would like it best for President Francois Mitterrand, ahead of Fabius' trip, to make true the promise he made to the then chief mayor Richard von Weizsaecker, to become the second French chief of state, after Giscard d'Estaing, to pay a visit to "his" West sector and the Berliners. That could be managed in conjunction with the Bonn summit in early May.

Sindermann has also managed King Juan Carlos' promise to visit the GDR. To receive "blue blood" East Berlin was eager already a few years ago when Shah Reza Pahlawi had received SED journalists for tea in his palace and NEUES DEUTSCHLAND published an extensive interview given him who was then overthrown.

The new French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas might also precede Fabius to East Berlin. He would then be the third Quai d'Orsay chief in East Berlin, following Jean Francois-Poncet and Claude Cheysson. Sir Geoffrey Howe's visit is set for April.

In the course of the year Honecker also is likely to accept the invitation from Athens he was presented with some time ago. In contrast to Craxi, who in July in East Berlin spoke of removing the "wall of suspicion and distrust and other kinds of walls," the socialist Premier Papandreou is not likely to embarrass him with formulations like that.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

ALLIED CONTROL PROCEDURES DISADVANTAGE EAST GERMANS

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 17 Jan 85 p 2

[Article by P. J. Winters: "Special Controls Act as Deterrent for GDR Citizens Leaving Berlin"]

[Text] FDP deputy Fabig recently asked the Senat in the house of deputies: "What does the Senat make of the partial abolition of border controls in the border crossing into neighboring EC and non-EC states? Is the Senat prepared to advocate a commensurate reduction or abolition of passport and customs checks at Tegel airport?" Domestic Affairs Senator and Mayor Lummer responded in the name of the Senat: The basis for the passport check and identification at Berlin-Tegel airport was an order from allied headquarters of 1970 prescribing passport check and identification for all who leave and arrive from abroad. Yet since the FRG had agreed with the neighboring states of France and Austria in the summer of 1984 on alleviating border-crossing road traffic, the Senat at the present time saw no reason for suggesting changes in the regulations from the allies concerning checks in air transportation.

So anyone wishing to leave West Berlin by air will continue to be checked at Tegel airport by the Berlin police, under orders by the allies. When someone has no valid passport or ID card and cannot have the police make out substitute papers in time, he must forget about his flight. There are no exceptions, not even for celebrities.

Yet the three allied patrons do not let it go by having Berlin police conscientiously check the passports or ID cards of all passengers leaving West Berlin by way of Tegel airport and put those data into a central computer bank. If for instance a German from the GDR not yet at retirement age gets to the policeman who has to check him, he is politely asked to check in first with his boarding pass at the airport's police precinct. There the dumbfounded traveler, who almost feels like being "at home" again, is handed a form--Appendix A of an allied order of 1970. Under "personal data" he has to list: family name (for women, maiden name also), first name, date and place of birth, citizenship, permanent address (in the East), occupation, current type of employment, last job, address in the place he visits in the FRG, date and signature. Then he has to surrender the form filled out together with his ID card. The control official then still has to enter on the form the number of the ID card or passport, the date when and place where it was made out, and the flight number.



After the official has briefly disappeared with the ID card of the GDR German behind a curtain--presumably to photograph the passport or ID card--he puts a stamp on the boarding pass, returns the ID card and sends the person so checked back to his concourse with an amiable "have a nice flight," where the traveler, if he is lucky, finds the plane still waiting for him.

The legal basis for this special control procedure is an allied order of 1970. At that time there still were neither a Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin nor FRG-GDR treaties. Germans from the GDR who were allowed to travel to the West then normally were, except for pensioners, only people on business. For them, that is mainly for all sorts of functionaries, the special control procedure was presumably introduced at the time. As it still is being practiced, without discrimination, for all who according to the laws of their state are GDR citizens but not yet pensioners, it now hits mainly private travelers who are allowed to visit the West on "urgent family business" as well as authors, artists, people of the church, athletes and scientists. GDR functionaries on business, mainly those that do not want to be noticed, can use the GDR airport Schoenefeld today when they want to get to western countries.

Many of those affected are very uneasy about these controls--not because they do not want to reveal their personal data to western authorities, but because they are afraid the GDR authorities could in some way find out that they also have flown from West Berlin to the FRG. The point is that GDR authorities allow GDR inhabitants normally--if they let them travel afterwards at all--either a trip to West Berlin or to the FRG. But there are quite some people who, getting the permission to take a trip to the West after years or decades, would like to use this opportunity, assisted by relatives and friends in the West, to stop over in West Berlin when in the FRG, or to fly to the FRG once they are permitted to visit West Berlin. But that precisely is what the GDR authorities do not want, and they explicitly warn all who take a trip to the West--mainly those who travel on grounds of pressing family business--to avoid such forbidden escapades.

Understandable as the reasons originally may have been for the allies to demand special control procedures for Germans from the GDR at Berlin's Tegel airport, one must not overlook the fact that today there is primarily a different category of GDR inhabitants using the only connection between Berlin and the FRG not under GDR control. Many Germans from the GDR who finally did get the permission to travel to the West are deterred by this special control procedure from enjoying the freedom of movement while they are in the West which West Germans take for granted. The Berlin Senat and the three western allies who are at one with the FRG government to ease the lives of people in the divided country and divided city would hardly take a security risk, were they to do away in the future with the special control of Germans from the GDR at Berlin-Tegel airport. "Normal" identification controls, after all, are carried out anyway.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

LAW HOLDS ECONOMISTS ACCOUNTABLE FOR BAD JUDGMENT

East Berlin NEUE JUSTIZ in German No 12, Dec 84 pp 500-501

[Article by Drs J. Bischof and R. Rindert, Section for Jurisprudence, Karl-Marx-University, Leipzig: "Preventing and Combatting Violations of the Law in Connection with Economic Decisions"]

[Text] On 13 and 14 June 1984, within the scope of the central research project "preventing and combatting violations of the law in enterprises and combines"(1), the criminal law department of the jurisprudence section at Karl-Marx-University, Leipzig, conducted its third scholarly conference. Directed by Prof Dr W. Orschekowski, the attendants at this conference (enterprise managers, representatives of central and local organs of justice, security and supervision, staff members of local state organs, ministries, enterprises, enterprises and combines, academies, universities and colleges of the GDR as well as jurists from the People's Republic of Poland) discussed the prevention and combatting of violations of the law and crime in connection with economic decisions.

In his report, Prof Dr D. Seidel (deputy director of research at the jurisprudence section of Karl-Marx-University, Leipzig) dealt with the basic tasks of jurisprudence for improving the capacity of the national economy and defending it against damage and loss. For the advance of the socialist society's efficiency, great importance lies with the strict observance of those laws that affect the operations of enterprises, combines and economy managing state organs with regard to efficient management, directed to output growth and the defense of public property. The careful examination and consideration of every single decision in the national economy is the necessary prerequisite for allowing the challenging objectives of the economic and social program to be achieved. Responsible efforts in all sectors strive for the utmost efficiency and guarantee "that work proceeds smoothly, uninterrupted and with the greatest possible efficiency."(2)

Based on these requirements, the report described the possible contribution of the law--specially the criminal law--to the improvement of the efficiency of social production. We are concerned here with its incorporation in total societal efforts for the prevention of avoidable economic mistakes liable to result in considerable economic damage and dangers. This applies, for instance, to accidents and fires as well as to breaches of duty in connection

with the speeded-up utilization of the results of science and technology or economic decisions involving discrepancies between cost and profit. The prevention and combatting of violations of the law in this field requires us to perceive its extremely varied manifestations, carefully analyze the objective and subjective reasons for their generation, and call those responsible to account.

The conference arrived at the following demands for the further perfection of economic management and decisionmaking:

- To in all stages of the reproduction process and at all levels of management always take scientifically based decisions with the greatest practical usefulness and guarantee their effective implementation by the specific resources of socialist management and socialist law,
- To make the needs of the socialist national economy and society as a whole the starting point of the economic operations of enterprises and combines,
- To assign a high place value to the consistent realization of the planning, management, supervisory and evaluation mechanisms--representing the essence of socialism--in the total system of the planned organization of the developed socialist society, strictly to safeguard the functional efficiency of the socialist planned economy and prevent or repel attacks on it with the specific resources of the law.

In the subsequent discussion, Dr H. Duft (section manager in the ministry for justice), Dr K.-H. Prabutzki (public prosecutor in the GDR public prosecutor general's office) and W. Fischer (section manager in the ministry for construction of heavy machinery and equipment used these basic demands to point out the need for using the law in effect right now for the defense of the national economy and socialist property--consistently, discriminatingly and creatively. In the case of errors in economic decisionmaking, disciplinary and material responsibility must be investigated even before the criminal law is called in. Also important is the effective use of economic penalties and measures of the law on administrative offenses. Enterprises and combines must more resolutely influence the further development of socialist legal consciousness and training for the observance of the duties imposed. In this connection, conferences on law and security as well as the careful evaluation of court proceedings are therefore of increasing importance. The conclusions derived therefrom are reflected from the aspect of prevention in enterprise specific management documents. When investigating economic crimes, it is imperative to carefully elucidate the offender's tendency to concealment and his diminution of the supervisory function, so as to counter them by the most effective means and improve the work of the supervisory organs.

It is the duty of every manager to enforce socialist law with respect to economic decisions and the accomplishment of the economic tasks set. Irresponsible behavior can best be prevented by the exemplary behavior of managers. Within the scope of the ministry for the construction of heavy machinery and equipment, the ongoing training of management staffs as well as

the unity of management, planning and supervision at all management levels receives the greatest attention so as to safeguard the uninterrupted flow of the reproduction process and guarantee the realization of the SED's economic strategy.

Assistant Professor Dr Schwarz (Central Institute for Socialist Management at the SED CC) and Professor Dr Grundmann (Carl Schorlemmer Technical College, Leuna-Merseburg) talked about the latest perceptions of decisionmaking theory. Decisionmaking calls for the manager or management collective to be thoroughly familiar with the problem, have a precise image of the starting situation (in other words be aware of all essential affective factors), carefully seek for the optimum variants of task accomplishment and arrive at decisions on this basis as well as the responsible fulfillment of the task set consonant with the high standard demanded by national interests. The starting basis is provided by economic indices, technical and legal regulations and normative targets.

Quite apart from the direct material damage, faulty decisions by managers may have substantial demoralizing and criminogenous effects on working people in the respective work environment. Of the utmost importance for the prevention and combatting of crimes against the national economy and socialist property is intolerance of any disorder and other conditions favoring crime. Analysis of motivations and the thorough investigation of the immediate circumstances of the crime are other prerequisites for the effective prevention of culpability. Dr H. Dettenborn (research group manager in the Institute for Government and Law at the GDR Academy of Sciences) reported illuminating results of investigations of the effect of penalties and the threat of penalties on the legal consciousness and system of attitudes of working people with respect to behavior appropriate to standards. The threat of penalties therefore represents a remarkable factor for the prevention of crime.

Professor Dr Wolf (sociologist at the section for scientific communism at Karl-Marx-University, Leipzig) indicated the special influence of the manager and the work collective on the responsible and dutiful behavior of each employee. Prof Dr A. Forker (faculty head for criminal law at Friedrich-Schiller-University, Jena) pointed out the necessity in connection with criminalistic work of clear and accurate investigations based on careful examination conceptions and satisfactory cooperation with the supervisory organs. In their joint report, S. Fichtler (deputy public prosecutor, Halle Bezirk) and Prof Dr K.-H. Beyer (jurisprudence section at Karl-Marx-University, Leipzig) emphasized the dialectic unity of prevention and combatting and the need for the comprehensive cooperation of the working people and their labor unions to guarantee legality, order, discipline and safety in the daily work process. This connection is particularly evident in the effective labors of the in-enterprise supervisory organs. It is imperative to lastingly deepen the perception among all economic functionaries, that socialist law has a quite specific role with respect to economic decisions and processes.

Of great interest were the remarks by Prof Dr W. Schoenrath (Karl-Marx-University, Leipzig) on problems involved in patent law. He graphically

illustrated the fact that inventions, patents and innovations may produce extremely great economic profits when used or sold timely and expertly, while tremendous damage may be caused by wrong decisions. In this sector of the economy, rights and duties need to be coordinated with particular caution, and it is imperative to keep risks at a level adequate to the objective. It is up to the legal counsel to provide expert advice to the manager and help decide the limits of justifiable risks. Not to be underestimated either is the remuneration of or payment of premiums to inventors and innovators, consonant with the socialist performance principle and material interestedness and respectful of priority and authorship. The correct use of material incentives helps prevent unjustified enrichment and crimes in this field.

M. Richter (factory manager, Halberstadt Machine Construction VEB) stressed the eminent role of due decisions and attitudes in his sphere of responsibility. Even minor derelictions of duty may result in serious damage to material or injury to people. It is necessary, therefore, to update the necessary knowledge of the equipment, the operation, operating rules and safety with respect to each job. Also important in this context are clear and appropriate instructions and training of foreign cadres, depending on their specific employment. This also applies to the acquisition of factual knowledge of the legal regulations of the host country.

The Polish guests, Assistant Professor Dr Skupinski (Institute for Government and Law, Academy of Sciences, Warsaw), Dr Kedzia (Center for Documentation and Information of Government and Law, Poznan) and Dr Bojarski (Institute for Criminology and Penal Law at Boleslaw-Bierut-University, Wroclaw) spoke on the prevention and combatting of crimes against the national economy from the standpoint of Polish criminal law. Taking as their starting point Article 217 of the Polish penal code (crimes of mismanagement) and before arriving at their verdict, Polish courts carefully examine whether the offender would have been able to adopt if not the optimum at least an acceptable economic decision. Before employing the criminal law, therefore, the use of other legal penalties is considered in the case of crimes committed in the national economy. Possibilities are dismissal or the payment of compensation.

Also much discussed were legal-theoretical discussions of the problem of just verdicts and the strategies needed to effectively combat crimes against the national economy. The discussion was mainly concerned with the problem of the demarcation between crime and non-crime in the complex field of decisionmaking involved in management operations.

In his concluding remarks, Prof Dr W. Orschekowski expressed his opinion that management personnel and scholars from interdisciplinary backgrounds had brought valuable experiences and perceptions to the conference. The penal code provisions on the protection of socialist property and the national economy were shown to be suitable and flexible enough to deal in a differentiated fashion with antisocial actions and actions threatening society in this field and to distinguish them from non-crimes. In connection with the central issue of the practical delimitation and differentiation in the course of the analysis of wrong economic decisions or economic crimes, it was again underlined that prevention is the crucial tool for the ongoing repulse of



crime. It is imperative in every sector of the national economy to guarantee the technical safety, scientific standards and technological order of plant and products requiring supervision, thorough and conscientious servicing, maintenance and repair, the exact determination of responsibility for all operations and the prompt response to violations of the law. It is an essential prerequisite for every manager in his sphere of responsibility to make order, discipline and safety a permanent element of his work and for all social forces (members of conflict commissions, jurors, representatives, and so on) to be involved in the prevention and combatting of violations of the law.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. See the minutes jointly issued by the Leipzig Bezirk Council and Karl-Marx-University, Leipzig, on the scholarly colloquiums "prevention and combatting of crime in enterprises and combines" of 25/26 May 1981 and "man-equipment-responsibility. Substance and limits of negligence in the scientific-technological revolution in socialism" of 9/10 December 1982; see also R.-U. Korth/Th. Marr, "Negligent Engendering of Damage and Hazards in the National Economy," NEUE JUSTIZ 1983, No 3, p 117.
2. See K. Hager, "Aus dem Bericht des Politburos an die 8. Tagung des Zentralkomitees der SED" [From the Politburo Report to the Eighth SED CC Plenum], Berlin 1984, p 32.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

W. VOGEL CALLED HONEST BROKER BETWEEN GERMANY'S

Zuerich DIE WELTWOCHEN in German No 2, 10 Jan 85 p 3

[Article by J. Schmidhammer: "Surgeon in the Hospital of German-German Suffering"]

[Text] The incident around the 154 GDR citizens who found asylum in Bonn's Embassy in Prague to enforce their permission to leave for the FRG, embarrassing for West and East Germany alike, has largely been defused: Only a few problematic cases are left; most have accepted the generally face-saving solution to return to the GDR for the time being, on appropriate guarantees given by East Berlin, to apply for their departure in the so-called normal way. Once again no practicable way could have been found without the subtle intercession by the "honest broker" Wolfgang Vogel, attorney in East Berlin.

Wolfgang Vogel, an attorney accredited in East and West Berlin, a successful defense attorney with an honorary doctor of law degree, is more than merely a fireman in all-German crises. Nor does he care at all for publicity. That he seeks only when required on behalf of hard and fast information.

Vogel, 59 years old last October, is one of the few constants in the intricate relations between the two German states. For 20 years he has been representing the GDR as the official plenipotentiary for humanitarian questions at the federal government in Bonn. In this function he is the direct partner Bonn's Ministry for Inner-German Relations keeps in touch with in its efforts to bring families together that are living apart because of the partition of Germany and toward the release of political prisoners from GDR prisons.

Since the mid-1960's the FRG government has been purchasing the release of political prisoners from GDR jails to the FRG with money and goods. Although this controversial "business," having assumed a considerable scope in the course of years, is transacted with the greatest discretion in the interest of the ones concerned, Wolfgang Vogel in the early years of his activity had the unjustified reputation of being a paid "release purchasing" agent. It took a few years for his partners in Bonn to realize that behind the cool mask of the East Berlin emissary a profound humanitarian commitment lay hidden.

I myself have found this impression confirmed in many talks with Vogel. He understands his work as a human obligation: "If one can modestly help defuse conflicts or even transform suffering into joy, it is something unspeakably satisfying, comparable perhaps to a surgeon's experience of success. Tears of sorrow and of joy I see every day, and so I seek to find my stability, not from sorrow, but from joy."

Among the most important Western partners he deals with is Herbert Wehner, the head of the Inner-German Relations Ministry at the time of the Grand Coalition in Bonn (1966-1969). Still today Vogel maintains friendly relations with Wehner. "Herbert Wehner has had a humanitarian commitment all his life--even during the war. As a minister he has been advocating it in the relationship between the two German states; since then we have dealt with each other. What he himself has achieved and effected has by no means become public knowledge as yet. Unless he himself publicly tells all that has been occurring, history will do so. I admire and esteem him, his model has shaped much within me, politically too. Without him we would have far more unhappy people on German soil in both parts. One must thank him time and time again and must not forget him."

Wolfgang Vogel, SED member for some years already, represents the GDR's interests with natural loyalty. In spite of that he has understanding and personal concern for the people who, out of external or internal constraints, have collided with GDR laws and seek his counsel.

A clue to Vogel's personality can be found in his childhood. Wolfgang Vogel was born in 1925, the third of five children, in the Silesian community Wilhelmsthal near Glatz. "At home, helping others was consistently instilled in me. Some of that may have remained with me. Unhappy people have stirred me up and affected me internally since my childhood also. My father was a village teacher in a small place in Silesia. There I grew up and was brought up as a strict Catholic. My father took care a great deal of poor, sick and suffering people. And he would always take me along then."

He began studying law in Jena in October 1945. He passed his examination in Leipzig. After his second state examination in 1952, Vogel worked as the chief referent of the criminal law department in the GDR Ministry of Justice. When his superior became persona non grata in 1953, Vogel also quit. That was Josef Streit, later the GDR's general prosecuting attorney, who advised Vogel to establish himself as an attorney in Berlin. Soon Vogel would specialize in inner-German litigation.

In 1962, in a spectacular swap of agents, the East Berlin attorney first demonstrated his skill as a mediator between the two worlds. Americans and Soviet Russians used his help in looking for a way to swap the master spy of the Soviets, Friedrich Abel, imprisoned in the United States since 1957, for the U-2 pilot Gary Powers, jailed in the Soviet Union. The transaction was brought about not until the GDR, through Vogel's intercession, became willing to release, as a bonus, as it were, an American it was holding as a spy.

## Discreet Midwifery for the Inner-German Summit

A few years later came the first "purchases" of prisoners from GDR jails. On the Western side this business was authorized by the then Federal Chancellor Konrad Adenauer and the Inner-German Relations Minister Rainer Barzel.

Since then Wolfgang Vogel has been a reliable factor in inner-German relations--and not only in humanitarian problems. It is an open secret that the meeting between the then Federal Chancellor Helmut Schmidt and GDR State Council Chairman Erich Honecker in December 1981 at Werbellinsee, which had been in jeopardy for a long time, became possible only after Wolfgang Vogel's discreet intercession. Vogel, rated as a personal confidant of Honecker's, plays down the share he had in it: "This mediating role resulted from my activity; I never looked for it. One should not overrate things there. I rather am a cobbler who sticks to his last and stay with my attorney's job."

## I Am No One's Handy Idiot

The second clue to Wolfgang Vogel's personality can be found in how he sees his work as an attorney. "I have been, am and will remain a lawyer. That is my profession, my task," a point made for good reason.

His role as a lawyer, representing interests according to instructions, spares him the risk of personal liability for his clients--be they the East Berlin government of the politically persecuted in the GDR. Over against his critics in East and West he can invoke his professional obligation to be humanly committed to his clients. Being thus professionally bound, he has the freedom to chart policy for the people in divided Germany--a chance he uses with appropriate discretion. "I do not see myself as a handy idiot, neither for one side or the other; that is what it would come down to. I have very clear-sighted ideas. Whatever I do I think politically correct and helpful to the relations between the two German states. Small-size conflict often becomes the cause for large-scale conflict."

Wolfgang Vogel, whose elegant attire and mundane bearing have nothing in common with the rigid formality of socialist functionaries and attest to some degree of harmless vanity, is wealthy--even in terms of Western standards. His chancellery, set up in the East Berlin city district of Friedrichsfelde, suggests money and good taste. Wolfgang Vogel drives a Mercedes and has a villa. "An SED member need not be poor; that is not in the statutes. I am no Samaritan and do not want to be canonized. After working as a lawyer for 30 years I ought to be entitled to be doing well economically. That is true of other lawyers in the GDR as well who also have a villa and also drive a Mercedes."

## Less Fuss About Just Any Conflict Would Be Desirable

Official honors attest to the appreciation Wolfgang Vogel enjoys in the GDR. In 1969 he got his honorary doctor's degree from the Babelsberg Academy for Political Science and Jurisprudence. The Patriotic Medal in gold he has had since 1975. In October 1983, on the occasion of the 34th anniversary of the founding of the GDR, he was awarded the Great Star of Peoples' Friendship, a rare distinction, "in appreciation of outstanding achievements toward the peoples' understanding and friendship and the safeguarding of peace." Swedish and Austrian medals document his international reputation.

Wolfgang Vogel--however much he may want to deny it--has long become an inner-German institution and indispensable as an honest broker to both sides. For all that, Bonn and East Berlin do not always make it easy for him. Stubbornness and lack of pragmatism obstruct humane solutions--as documented, sadly, by the current events around the FRG's embassy in Prague.

Vogel is appealing to both sides: "I have a whole list of requests together, and of two of them I should like to make a special point. On your side, less champagne, less fuss about any given conflict. In quiet and in peace of mind one can operate still more successfully. The evidence: there are more good solutions that have remained publicly unknown than have been publicized. And secondly: less excessive demands, more reasonable expectations, and a bit more contentment with what can be done than discontent over what cannot or not yet be done."

Of the GDR government he would like a little more freedom of movement: "I dare say that in time the attorney's mandate should get expanded. That will depend on the state of relations between the two German states. And secondly: more equanimity when your side seeks to spoil things and talks things to death irrelevantly--which unfortunately happens quite often."

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HUNGARY

NATION, NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS, INTELLECTUALS REVIEWED

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 19 Jan 85 p 13

[Peter Agardi's review of book "Nemzetlet--nemzettudat--ertelmiseg" [National Existence--National Awareness--Intellectuals] by Tibor Huszar, Magveto Publishing House, Budapest, 1984]

[Text] A significant proportion of the cultural and ideological debates in recent years and months has been on the questions of the nation and its intellectuals. Can a contributor to a daily paper disregard this public-interest approach when he reads a professional work on this topic, Tibor Huszar's "Nemzetlet--nemzettudat--ertelmiseg," and when he reports to the public on the impressions that reading this book have evoked in him?

Regrettably, my notes are late in comparison with this book's publication date. In them I neither wanted, nor would have been able, to set this aspect aside. To the contrary, I am intentionally placing emphasis on this aspect to call attention to it. The more so because here it is impossible to present a detailed review and professional evaluation of this work. And also because this timely interest, which can hardly be preconceived as unscientific, is typical also of the author, Tibor Huszar, himself: ". . . interpretation of the lessons of our national history and the attitude to our cultural heritage have become one of the most sensitive issues of our intellectual life and, in this sense, an integral part of our present as well" (pp 11-12).

This volume of more than 700 pages is a collection of essays that are not of entirely equal value, of course, but professionally they are uniformly demanding. The author's enthusiasm as commentator and teacher, and his generally understandable language round out our impression of scientific substantiation and credence. Tibor Huszar's book takes a stand, directly or indirectly, in the recurring debates on the following issues: our nation's past and present; the structure and state of Hungarian society; the intellectuals' role, domestic conditions and sense of identity; education, culture and socialism; and the relationship between socioeconomic reform and intellectual and moral development. His perceptions and arguments are most often convincing and novel; occasionally they are striking discoveries and demand generalization. Sometimes, of course, they are debatable and must be carried further. His every line proves the assertion of the "sense of mission"--or, more accurately and modestly, of the intellectual role--whose historical, sociological and ideological components specifically he expounds, using authentic professional source materials and arguments.

Some readers may find his numerous quotations and references disturbing. I do not. After all, Huszar is not engaged in quotation mongering, and he does not attempt to sidestep his obligation to present unambiguous standpoints of his own. Rather, objectivity in interpretation, skill in discerning nuances, and sovereignty of the scientist are characteristic of his method. His particular gift is ability to evoke the accepted or debated formulations of Jozsef Eotvos and Antonio Gramsci, Oszkar Jaszi and Ferenc Erdei, Gyorgy Lukacs and Istvan Bibo, Gyula Illyes, Jozsef Revai and others, with relatively little explanation and without didactic categorizations, in a historically sensitive yet relevant manner.

One of the most appealing characteristics of the approach, treatment of topic, and methodology in Huszar's book is the integration of the historical, sociological and ideological aspects. So far as the sociological cross section is concerned, allow me to mention first of all the sensitive presentation of the road that Hungarian intellectuals have traveled, and of their present social conditions and awareness, based on analyzing the "duality" of the conflict-laden Hungarian social and national development over several centuries. The strata and functions of the nobility and bourgeoisie, their economic, social, consciousness and moral characteristics, and the mutual impact and duality of these characteristics have exerted to this day a lasting influence not only on the so-called Hungarian middle classes, but on the intellectuals and their actual role and awareness as well. This, too, explains the distorted and obstinate answers to the questions of the period, and the false alternatives of thought. It will suffice to cite the urban-rural contradiction, which has split even the left.

Thought-provoking is Huszar's characterization (in agreement or dispute with other researchers) of present-day Hungarian society's "multiply complex structure" that property relations, regardless of how decisive they may be, are no longer able to explain adequately. Thus, within the trends toward Hungarian society's essential homogeneity, there are pronounced differences based on the type of work performed and one's place in the social "hierarchy," complicated divisions of interests and groups, and social and territorial inequalities as well.

Analyzing Hungarian higher education's historical achievements and also its contradictions, Tibor Huszar convincingly points out the growing importance in our society of the numerically increased and internally restructured intellectuals, and their resulting interests and demands. At the same time he conclusively refutes the contention that intellectuals are unified in terms of their principal characteristics, their culture-creating and -transmitting role, and their ideological profile, or that their alleged "special" interests and "essential unity" qualifies intellectuals for some sort of dominant role.

Tibor Huszar describes with the accuracy of a historian and the consciousness of an intellectual dedicated to socialist transformation, rather than of a treasury official, also the changes that have been taking place for decades among Hungary's peasants, in the villages, respectively in agriculture. It is worth calling attention to this especially because these facts and interrelations are perhaps not sufficiently known and inspiring even to intellectuals

who otherwise are so concerned about the peasantry's lot. The three-dimensional presentation of the results is appropriately supplemented by criticism of certain erroneous, economist-technocratic or antidemocratic tendencies that were noticeable in the settlement-development, taxation, income-distribution and self-government practices of the 1970's.

Among the essays and analyses of a historical nature I would like to single out first of all the presentation--novel in many respects--of the social mentality underlying the left-wing or "popular" movements of the 1930's. Not only his profound knowledge of the objective processes and published sources, but also the huge documentation of facts and the recollections he uncovered in interviews with some of the emigrated contemporaries, the "characters" of that time, have helped Huszar to form unbiased judgments, including some that convincingly refute erroneous views persisting even today. (Let me refer to the published part of this vast material, the volume "Beszelgetesek" [Interviews] that Magveto produced in 1983.) For example, he refutes the contention that the entire bourgeois radicalism movement was characterized by indifference to the nation and national minorities issue; this contention is false, the more so because in this century it was specifically the bourgeois radicals who started systematic research to explore Hungary. Sharply disputing also doctrinaire "Marxist" approaches, Huszar offers a nuanced analysis of many of the works and views of Laszlo Nemeth and Gyula Illyes. He traces the ideological history of the concept and myth of "questions of vital importance," the roots of which attest to a doubtful content; but this strict and critical demythologization does not lead Huszar to question the relative justification of this concept, and especially not its users' sense of social and national responsibility.

Exceptionally valuable are the parts that isolate the historical materialistic, Marxist-oriented ideological and political aspirations within the apparent "unity" of the "popular" left. I have in mind first of all the presentation and characterization of the course of ideological history in Ferenc Erdei's 1943 lecture in Szarszo, in his 1945 sketch of Dezso Szabo, and generally in Erdei's career from 1936 through 1945. (About the antecedents, the start of Ferenc Erdei's career, Tibor Huszar wrote also an extensive monograph that appeared in his "Tortenelem es Szociologia" [History and Sociology] published in 1979.) Tibor Huszar's sketches of Pal Teleki and Bela Korvig dispel even present-day legends, and he utilizes in Marxist fashion the perceptions of Karoly Polanyi and Istvan Bibo. His account of the political realignment in Hungary in 1946-1947, his characterization of the months of right-wing conspiracy and its unmasking, and his principled, three-dimensional analysis of the literary responses, including Laszlo Nemeth's position, are as exciting as a detective story.

On the basis of the extensive documentation, the reader of Tibor Huszar's book will be struck particularly by how very much alive are--regrettably even today, sometimes because of our own sociopolitical contradictions, as a grotesque answer to them--the old ideological conditioned responses and myths that we thought we had overcome. Sensitive to both national and universal progress, Tibor Huszar characterizes from a class viewpoint the social structures of east and central Europe in the earlier and more recent periods, the relationship of the nations and national minorities, the syndrome triggered by the Treaty of Trianon that penalized us also for the Hungarian Soviet Republic,

respectively the consciousness and ideological components of this syndrome. He not only offers us an incisive criticism of the chauvinistic, irredentist "Saint Stephen" nationalism and principle of cultural superiority, an in-depth analysis of their effects, rejects the utopistic doctrinaire radicalism that claims to be socialism, and undertakes the challenging criticism of the type of "national state" concept that distorts Lenin's principles. He also disputes the "civilized nation" concept that, understandably, responds to real historical injustices and national or minority grievances, but does so at the cost of ideological and political self-deception, ideological blind alleys and "false beliefs," instead of offering real remedies.

Perhaps the book's most exciting essay is the 100-page one on changes in the Hungarian Communist Party's policy on intellectuals. This thorough work presents the Communist ideology and the practical implementation of the policy on intellectuals in 1945-1949, mainly the 1945 debate on the New Intellectual Front, the controversy between SZABAD NEP and HALADAS, and the exchange of views in 1945-1948 among Ferenc Erdei, Gyula Szekfu, Gyorgy Lukacs, Jozsef Revai, Gyula Illyes, Laszlo Nemeth, Marton Horvath, Bela Zsolt, Laszlo Farago and others. This work, too, refutes the general belief that hardly any political and ideological history works have appeared or can appear in Hungary that critically analyze the years and decades after the liberation. The space limitations of this article hardly permit me to do so, but it would be worthwhile to compare Tibor Huszar's concept with the recently published other books, essays and memoirs on this topic. There are a few questions that I, too, see differently than Tibor Huszar. For example, I would draw a sharper distinction between the entire 1945-1949 concept and role of Gyorgy Lukacs and Marton Horvath, not to mention the later years. And I would emphasize more strongly how narrow-minded the Hungarian Communist Party was--of course, also as a function of the political debates--toward some of the intellectual and artistic aspirations of the Social Democrats: more repulsive and inflexible than toward other intellectual groups farther removed from its ideology.

I feel that Huszar's exposition of the relationship between the about-face in political strategy (in 1947-1948) and the "runaway" distortions that began in 1949-1950 (although there were also antecedents) likewise requires further deliberation. I find this necessary mainly in the sense that in his book "Valság es megújulás" [Crisis and Renewal] (Budapest, 1982, pp 23-25) Rezso Nyers draws a fine pencil line between 1948 and 1949, distinguishing between a change in strategy that was historically warranted in spite of the mistakes, and "another but now concealed about-face in policy" that did not necessarily follow from this change in strategy. In spite of all this, Huszar's essay in its general outlines is convincing and appropriate; it is severely critical of the Communist ideologists' mistakes, but at the same time it refutes with a sense of responsibility the now rather fashionable embellishing falsifications regarding the aspirations of certain coalition parties, bourgeois and peasant politicians and ideologists, and it also dispels the so-called counterschematic, negativistic myth of the 1950's.

Employing novel approaches, Tibor Huszar demonstrates and appreciates that the Hungarian Communist Party, in alliance with the other progressive forces, could and did become the decisive force behind the postwar years' dynamism, not only and not primarily because of the world political constellation, but by virtue



of its historical legitimate national competence and sense of responsibility that were expressed in a people's democratic strategy, of its essential perspicacity, and its hard-won authority.

Huszar's analysis also confirms that the historical problem was not the ideological debate that, although occasionally sharp, proved the policy of alliance to be genuine and has become since then a valuable heritage of our intellectual life. Rather, the historical problem was the distortion of general policy after 1949, and the deferral or incorrect answering of real issues, which necessarily leads astray both Marxist reasoning and the requirement of tolerance in exchanging views.

From the viewpoint of their subject matter, methodology and outlook, then, the papers in Tibor Huszar's substantial book comprise an integral whole, centering on the topics of the nation and the intellectuals. His comprehensive and, within it, strongly sociological approach strengthens rather than weakens the book's historical and critical profile. In his book, therefore, the discussion of such "fashionable" topics does not become a sterile criticism of ideology, a construction that inflates public sentiment into a venting of grievances or even an ideology, and nationalistically apologetic, sentimentally historicizing or unscientific journalism that pretends to be modern. And this is why he is able to rise above and refute also the strange division of labor that occasionally characterizes our intellectual life and does not hesitate to resort even to falsifications of history. For in this obnoxious duality, with reference to "national identity," the Marxist and socialist aspirations are subjected to the sharpest possible criticism that borders on the doctrinaire, to the ahistorical anger of "historians" that distorts any realistic "inexorability." On the other hand, however, ideas and political or cultural movements that are perhaps the most progressive in their intentions but contradictory in their aspect are alleged to be "morally" proven by the present and future, or at least are regarded as requiring "treatment with understanding." This is an incomplete view of the nation, incomplete self-knowledge of our national history, from which specifically the socialist values, respectively socialism's achievements, edifying contradictions and experiences have been omitted.

Tibor Huszar's book is able to convincingly combine the topics of intellectuals and nation, because he asks the right questions and gives answers that in most cases are valid ones. For he sees the answers to the basic questions of national existence and awareness as an integral part of social, economic and cultural renewal at home, which can be expected under the conditions of peace and detente, but by no means automatically; in the realistic interpretation and possible resolution of the inherited and new contradictions; in socialist democracy and the assertion of interests; and, inseparably from all this, in the unfolding of the intellectuals' many-sided role. And he sees the present mission of intellectual existence and awareness in contributing--professionally, demandingly, critically, passionately and responsibly--toward this strenuous, by no means risk-free, but promising "undertaking."

The fact that scientific researchers (including Tibor Huszar) who want, with reason, to influence the social processes and political decisions can now watch with well-earned pride as some of their proposals and recommendations of three,



five or ten years ago mature into political will that has been won through serious debates--to mention only the current modernization efforts in the practical implementation of education policy and the policy on intellectuals, in public administration and the development of settlements, in electing deputies to the National Assembly and council members, or in the mechanism of enterprise management--is further proof that this "undertaking" has a good chance to succeed. All this is not the "official" happy end that dismantles healthy intolerance. Nor is it the lesson of a contemporary about the interrelations of socialism, intellectuals and the nation, a lesson that must be suppressed modestly and masochistically.

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HUNGARY

AGITPROP OFFICIAL VIEWS CONGRESS PROSPECTS

PM221521 Rome L'UNITA in Italian 19 Jan 85 p 9

[Dispatch by Arturo Barioli: "Hungary: 13th Congress Expected To Give New Boost to Reforms"]

[Text] Budapest--Nobody within the upper echelons of the party is saying that the coming 13th Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] Congress scheduled for 25-29 March will be a "historic congress" as congresses are usually described. On the contrary, the emphasis is being placed on the fact that it will be an "unspectacular and unsensational" congress dealing with "continuity and regeneration" based on a serious and realistic analysis of the results achieved and the problems that have emerged over the past 5 years. The novelty is that there will be no formulation of the new 5-year plan; there will just be pointers to the basic objectives of economic development for the next 5 years, which is undoubtedly unusual within the context of planned economies. As deputy director of the MSZMP's Agitation and Propaganda Department Barabas says, "It is not the congress' job to tie the planners' hands."

But behind the pragmatism and gradual approach it is not difficult to perceive all the worries and hopes that party leaders (but also a large proportion of Hungarian society) are focusing on the next congress as one of the most important means of giving a new boost to the program of broad economic and political reforms, which has slowed down considerably in recent years under the repercussions of the economic crisis and the less favorable international climate. A new boost to this process is in any case being set as a necessity, to avoid the risk of being overtaken by new problems and of having dangerous splits appearing between party and society and within society itself. Judging from what is known about the course taken by grassroots meetings (it is not difficult to acquire information in this connection), one of the issues most discussed was that of raising people's living standards, which have remained, on average, virtually static for the past 2 years despite considerable discrepancies in trends in incomes. So the starting point for the debate is very specific. Deputy Director of the Central Committee Agitation and Propaganda Department Barabas says: "In the past 5 years we have achieved the majority of the objectives set by the 12th Congress. The economy has grown under extremely difficult conditions; the country's solvency has improved sharply, and our production structures have displayed good dynamism. But we are not entirely satisfied. We responded too late to the economic crisis; we continued to pursue the objective of increasing living standards even when our income was less than our expenditure; and we were forced to reduce investments: this is a path that

cannot be followed for long without serious consequences. We still have healthy enterprises, which are forced to carry the unhealthy ones; social imbalances have increased and become a cause of tension; and the pressure of inflation has become worrying." He paints a stark picture with no concessions to extenuating circumstances. "The party," Barabas goes on, "has responded to these difficulties not with administrative measures but by aiming to develop socialist democracy, strengthen democratic institutions, reorganize administration, and improve enterprises management. We intend to resolve the new problems and to pursue the harmonization of interests with the population and through more intensive consultations with the various organizations."

The two major guidelines for the congress have been defined as the development of democracy and increased economic efficiency, both interconnected and interdependent. But what specifically is meant by the development of democracy in a society of "real socialism?" First, a growing role for parliament and its prerogatives. The process is already under way and is being given increasing coverage in the newspapers and on radio and television, and its credibility and influence have increased in recent years. Real autonomy and real decisionmaking power for local bodies: Immediately after the congress there will be local elections governed by the new electoral law which requires the submission of more than one candidate (and not only party candidates) for each constituency. Greater autonomy and representativeness for the various organizations, from trade unions to the consumers' association and from the cooperatives to the chamber of commerce. An extension of democracy within the factories, not only through the allocation of real powers and responsibilities to managements but also through the factory manager's election by workers' assemblies or their delegates, as laid down by the new law which became effective a few days ago. This is what is being done on the road to the development of democracy, but the congress is expected to yield new stimuli for new initiatives. More democracy is considered necessary partly to lay the foundations for improved living standards by exploiting all the country's hitherto idle resources and thus increasing the economy's growth rate and improving the quality of output. "Market relations are at the root of our economic conduct," Barabas said. But market relations are reconciled with the social character of production, with price setting, and with the socialist system. There is no shortage of tensions: They are caused by inflation and social inequalities, by moonlighting, and by the attraction of private enterprise which now provide 4-5 percent of jobs and of the country's output. Democracy also depends on the ability to overcome these tensions and to turn them into a force for development.

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POLAND

ACCOMPLISHMENTS, FUNCTIONS OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE DESCRIBED

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 23, 7 Nov 84 pp 15-18,19

[Report by the Chancellery of the Secretariat of the PZPR Central Committee:  
"Report on the Activities of the PZPR Central Committee During the Period From 20  
February Till 15 October 1984"]

[Text] The period covered by this report was rich in political events of particular significance. The central party authorities were highly active in consistently implementing the resolutions of the 9th Extraordinary PZPR Congress.

Important political events in the country's life were the elections to people's councils (17 June of this year) and the celebrations of the 40th anniversary of People's Poland as well as of the 45th anniversary of the Hitlerite aggression against Poland.

I. National Conference of PZPR Delegates

Pursuant to the Statute, midway during the election term of the central party authorities the National Conference of PZPR Delegates deliberated from 16 till 18 March in Warsaw, with the participation of 1,776 delegates from the 9th Extraordinary Congress. They submitted more than 2,300 proposals and postulates.

In the "Resolution on the Implementation of the Resolutions of the 9th Congress" the delegates noted that the Central Committee had been operating in accordance with the resolutions of the 9th Congress, acting in the spirit of socialist renewal by strengthening socialism in Poland; and further they found that, as ensuing from the resolutions of the 9th Congress, and as elaborated at plenary sessions of the Central Committee, the line of [national] accord and struggle for a socialist nature of transformations in Poland and against the forces of anarchy and the counter-revolution was and is consistently implemented. The party, under the leadership of the Central Committee, undertook and is steadily implementing a broad program of reforms.

The Conference approved the activities of the Central Party Control Commission and the Central Audit Commission as well as their recommendations for further work. The Conference took note of the report of the Commission for Appeals under the 9th Congress. The Conference approved the international activities of the Central Committee and expressed its gratitude to the fraternal parties--and especially to the CPSU--for their understanding of our difficulties and aid in surmounting them.

Approving the performance of the Central Committee and the Politburo, the Conference expressed its highest recognition of the first secretary of the PZPR, who had during a difficult and conflict-laden period directed the activities of the Central Committee and the PRL Government in full awareness of historical responsibility and in accordance with the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and the most vital interests of the nation and the state.

The Conference accepted the Politburo report outlining the party's tasks as regards the further implementation of the resolutions of the 9th Congress and placed party members under the obligation of translating them into reality.

The Conference accepted the declaration "What We Are Fighting For, Where We Are Going" and took a position on the issue of "Materials for the Discussion of the PZPR Program," declaring that the orientation of the work on that program is correct and recommending to the commission that it continue its work on the draft, while at the same time recommending to the Central Committee that it discuss that draft within the party prior to the 10th PZPR Congress.

In a separate resolution the Conference outlined the party's tasks in the elections to people's councils and voted "Rules for the Election of Delegates, Authorities and Control Bodies Within the PZPR." These rules, which had previously been presented for broad consultation and verified in practice, provisionally regulate important party matters in accordance with the letter and spirit of the decisions of the 9th Extraordinary Congress.

In addition, the Conference accepted two documents concerning international affairs: "On the Defense of Peace" and "A Message to All Communist and Worker Parties."

The Conference reflected the party's will to continue the line of struggle, accord and socialist reforms, calling upon all party organizations to mobilize their efforts for implementing the program of the 9th Congress.

The concluding address at the Conference was delivered by the First Secretary of the Central Committee Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski. His speech contained high praise for the ideological temperature of the Conference and the deep feeling of party responsibility displayed by the delegates. This was reflected in the evaluations of the road traveled, performed from the standpoint of a deeply considered approbation of the line of the 9th Congress and of the means of implementing that line as outlined by the successive plenary sessions of the Central Committee. This approbation was accompanied by principled and



constructive criticism of the existing deficiencies, negligences and displays of opportunism, fencesitting and arrogance. To combat these deficiencies and negative phenomena, the party must mobilize its every effort and all party members and organizations. This is where its latent potential is the greatest. This direction of action will serve to isolate the political enemy, win over doubters, broaden the extent of social trust and support and liberate broad civic activism of the working people. The Central Committee and the leadership of the party and the government will continue the line of struggle, accord and reforms, on keeping the society broadly informed about their initiatives and actions and asking its opinion by way of broad public consultations and the use of consultantcies and expertises. This unlocks broader prospects for the initiative and autonomy of diverse social constituencies.

On the basis of the Conference's materials, the Politburo of the Central Committee accepted the "List of Tasks Following the National Conference of PZPR Delegates," addressed to problem-oriented commissions and departments of the Central Committee, province party committees and the ministries and local agencies of the state administration. The Politburo placed the Central Committee departments under the obligation of regularly monitoring the implementation of the tasks posed by the Conference.

## II. Central Committee

### Plenary Sessions

During the period covered by this report the Central Committee held one--the 16th--plenary session, on 2 and 3 June of this year, in Lodz. The topic of the deliberations was an issue fundamental to socialism: the role and importance of the working class in the party and the country. Eight hundred blue-collar workers, both party and non-party, were invited from all over the country to participate in the deliberations. On the day preceding the deliberations the members of the central party authorities met at 44 Lodz work establishments with the representatives of the workforces. In this way, the forms and scope of the dialogue between the party and its leadership and the working class became enriched.

Two reports were presented: one by the Politburo, "On the Further Strengthening of the Leading Role of the Working Class in Building Socialism in Poland," and the other by the Council of Ministers, "The Role of Plant Collectives in Implementing Economic Tasks."

During the intermissions the participants in the plenum took part in meetings with the heads of Central Committee departments as well as of ministries and central offices.

The participants in the deliberations, meaning both the members of the central party authorities and the invited guests, unanimously approved an appeal to the society concerning the elections to people's councils as well as a resolution on strengthening the leading role of the working class in building socialism in Poland.

In addition, the Central Committee accepted a resolution on strengthening the blue-collar worker base of the party and implementing the tasks ensuing from the resolutions of the participants in the open 16th Plenum of the Central Committee. That resolution had obligated the Politburo to draft by the end of July 1984 a plan for implementing the tasks ensuing from the resolutions [of the 16th Plenum] and presenting it for consultation to certain POP's [basic party organizations] and plant workforces. Once the results of that consultation were considered, this plan was submitted in October of this year for confirmation to the Politburo, which subsequently should regularly monitor its implementation.

#### Information-Consultation Meetings

On 9-10 and 11-12 May of this year the 12th series of information-consultation meetings of the members of the central party authorities was held. The status of the preparations, the basic theses of the Politburo report and the nature of the materials considered at the 16th Central Committee Plenum were discussed. Also discussed were the principal problems of the state of security and safety in this country as well as measures to curb the scope and consequences of social pathology and crime. In addition, these meetings dealt with the country's economic situation.

The 13th series of information-consultation meetings was held on 18-19 and 20-21 September of this year. The sociopolitical situation was evaluated in the light of the course of the elections to people's councils, the celebrations of the 40th anniversary of People's Poland and the implementation of the amnesty decree. Against this background, current and future tasks of party echelons and organizations were discussed. In addition, the results and recommendations ensuing from the social consultation on the assumptions of the 1985 CPR [Central Annual Plan] were analyzed. The assumptions for the [coming] 17th Plenary Session of the Central Committee and the theses of the Politburo report [to be] presented at that session were discussed. The participants in the 13th series of meetings submitted a number of proposals and recommendations on refining the cooperation between the members of the authorities and the local party echelons and the executive apparatus.

#### Other Forms of Consultation and Opinion Surveys

During the 12th series of information-consultation meetings opinion polls provided data on the participation of the members of the central party authorities in the meetings and encounters following the National Conference of Delegates and on the questions and issues most often asked and raised during these encounters. The findings were transmitted to the Central Committee secretaries.

During the deliberations of the 16th Central Committee Plenum the Organizational Department of the Central Committee polled the participants about the party and its performance as the representative of the interests of the working class; the influence of workers on party and state policies; the idea of the worker-peasant inspection teams; the directions of the implementation of the principles of social justice; and the state of

discipline, production quality and other major socioeconomic and political issues. The related findings will be utilized in the work of the party and government leadership.

The members and candidate members of the Central Committee took an active part in the social consultation on the premises of the 1985 CPR, engaging in discussion of the principal problems of next year's plan at their regular workplaces and within their own occupational and territorial constituencies.

In connection with the draft, being prepared by the Organizational Department of the Central Committee, of a comprehensive plan for implementing the resolutions of the 9th party congress, 34 members and candidate members of the Central Committee presented in writing their comments and proposals.

Each member of the central party authorities took part in 5-10 community meetings and encounters following the National Conference of PZPR Delegates. At these encounters the discussion dealt broadly with the country's socioeconomic problems and the tasks relating to strengthening the party's standing and role in the state and the society. A similar scope characterized the encounters relating to the 16th Central Committee Plenum and the celebrations of the 40th anniversary of People's Poland.

A major aspect of activities of the Central Committee is the proposals and postulates presented during its plenary sessions.

At the 16th Plenum 121 proposals were presented. All the proposals were considered and many of them implemented, with their authors being correspondingly informed. Teams consisting of representatives of the Central Committee, the Office of the Council of Ministers and the appropriate ministries were dispatched to certain plants in order to examine the situation and facilitate the solution of the problems reported.

In accordance with the resolution of the 16th Plenum, the Politburo of the Central Committee considered and accepted "Assumptions of the Plan for Implementing the Tasks Ensuing From the Decisions and Resolutions of the Participants in the Open 16th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee." This document was transmitted for consultation to the work establishments whose representatives had taken part in the deliberations of the 16th Plenum. The results of the consultation of workforces at more than 700 work establishments were collated and processed; they will be of use in the further work of the Central Committee and the government.

#### Party Exchange With the CPSU Central Committee

In accordance with the provisions of the plan for cooperation between the PZPR and the CPSU, in the last 2 years direct familiarity with the experience of party work in the Soviet Union was gained by 52 members and candidate members of the Central Committee, workers from the machinery, mining, power, transportation and light industries, private farmers, employees of the socialized sector of agriculture and teachers.

In August of this year Poland was visited by a five-person delegation of members of the central party authorities of the CPSU who were interested in the new forms of work of the PZPR Central Committee, the party press and the activities of youth organizations and trade unions.

### III. The Politburo and Secretariat of the Central Committee

The Politburo and Secretariat of the Central Committee systematically considered principal political, ideological, socioeconomic, international and intraparty problems. They adopted resolutions and decisions programming the activities of party echelons and organizations as well as of state authorities as regards the implementation of the resolutions of the 9th Extraordinary PZPR Congress. At the same time, they devoted much attention to monitoring the execution of the decisions of the Central Committee.

During the period considered the Politburo of the Central Committee held 25 sessions and the Secretariat of the Central Committee seven sessions.

The activities of the Politburo and Secretariat of the Central Committee were chiefly centered on:

- undertaking political, social and educational initiatives to promote social stabilization and develop socialist democracy in connection with the elections to people's councils;

- programming the party's ideological-political activities in accordance with the decisions of the 9th Congress, strengthening its bonds with the working class and the laboring people and perfecting the party's leading role in the state and guiding role in the society;

- implementing the decisions of the PZPR Central Committee concerning the party's ideological and propaganda activities in the context of the celebrations of the 40th anniversary of People's Poland;

- outlining tasks for the party in the field of economics, with special attention to the implementation of the social purposes of economic development;

- developing the international situation and strengthening cooperation with the countries of the socialist community in all fields, and primarily in joint action to secure world peace;

- analyzing the quantitative and class-stratum composition of party membership, perfecting the structures and style of party action and streamlining financial management in accordance with the conservation program mandatory within the PZPR.

The central sociopolitical problem, attracting the attention of the entire society, was the elections to people's councils. Hence also, the Politburo of the Central Committee examined at 10 sessions the course of the successive stages of the election campaign, the reports, recommendations and proposals



submitted by Central Committee departments and province committee secretaries, and the findings of public opinion surveys. The program assessments and work resulted in plans for political, organizational and propaganda projects that were addressed to PZPR echelons and organizations in order to assure an efficient and coordinated leadership of the entire party and the party's decisive influence on the course of events in this country.

Analysis of the situation led to the general conclusion that only a consistent implementation of the line of the 9th Congress--the line of accord, struggle and reforms--would gain the society's acceptance, consolidate social stabilization and strengthen the party's authority.

Signal proof of this position was provided by the results of the elections of councilmen, in which a majority of working people demonstrated their support for the party's policy and for the forces participating in the movement for national accord. This situation, in its turn, served to provide complete support for the initiative of the National Council of the PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] concerning the announcement of an amnesty for persons who came to be in conflict with the law for, among other things, political reasons.

Special attention was attached to two aspects of the implementation of the line of the 9th Congress: the development of socialist democracy and the strengthening of legality within the country. The Politburo, jointly with the representatives of the supreme bodies of state power, considered the opinion issued by the Parliamentary Commission for Constitutional Responsibility regarding the refinement of the principles for governing the state. It recommended to party members that they guide themselves by that opinion in legislative work as well as in the operating practice of state authorities.

The Politburo and Secretariat of the Central Committee discussed four times the problems of the performance of state and social inspection. They recommended that these two kinds of inspection be combined more closely and made more effective and that the recommendations be implemented consistently. Against this background was considered the idea of establishing Worker-Peasant Inspection Teams, which had previously been submitted to Central Committee members as well as for social consultation. The Secretariat of the Central Committee resolved on "Guidelines for the Program-Organizational Principles of Experimental Monitoring by the Worker-Peasant Inspection Teams," in accordance with which such experimental monitoring is already under way in 13 provinces.

The Politburo and Secretariat of the Central Committee also analyzed other institutional elements of people's rule, such as: main problems of the activity of workforce self-governments, operating conditions of social organizations, the proposals made at the second all-Polish meeting between trade-union representatives and the party and government leadership, and the directions of action of the PRON in promoting civic initiatives. The decisions and recommendations adopted on these matters serve to broaden the participation of working people in governing and to resolve local and national sociopolitical and economic issues.



These goals also were pursued by the Politburo's recommendations, formulated against the background of an evaluation of respect for law and principles of social justice, civic discipline and public order. It recommended to the party organizations operating within the law enforcement agencies that they streamline their activities. It announced its intention to carry out a thorough and systematic analysis of crime in the form of a special report. It also pointed to the urgent need to increase the effectiveness of certain legal instruments, react [to crime] more rapidly, enforce the imposed penalties and, above all, broaden the social front of the struggle against pathological phenomena. In response to the justified criticism of the society regarding the services provided by government offices, bureaus, the health service, transportation, and other institutions, special recommendations were addressed to the party members working in the public services, in the broad meaning of the term.

Another important domain of activities of the Politburo and Secretariat of the Central Committee has been the drafting of programs for the implementation of the strategic goals of the party's activity: strengthening the bonds between the PZPR and the working class and laboring people as well as perfecting the party's leading role in the state and guiding role in the society. This work was reflected in the material submitted for confirmation to the National Conference of Delegates and the 16th Central Committee Plenum, as well as in preparations for the 17th Central Committee Plenum.

Implementing the recommendations submitted during the recent reports-elections campaign, the party has prepared a draft of the comprehensive plan for implementing the resolutions of the 9th Extraordinary Congress, which will be submitted for confirmation to the Central Committee after allowance is made for the comments still being transmitted through the members of the central party authorities.

On the basis of the recommendations of the 16th Central Committee Plenum, the Politburo placed party members under the obligation of joining trade unions. Further, it placed party organizations in enterprises under the obligation of actively supporting the initiatives of trade unionists and developing correct partnerlike relations among the plant management, the workforce self-government and the trade-union organizations.

As part of the preparations for the 17th Central Committee Plenum, the Politburo and Secretariat of the Central Committee considered an assessment of the campaign for elections to people's councils and the conclusions ensuing to the party as regards preparations for elections to the Parliament, the program-organizational assumptions for the campaign for elections to tenant self-governments, the main directions of legislative work of the government, the performance of the Committee for Adherence to Law, Public Order and Social Discipline under the Council of Ministers, the status of the prevention and control of pathological social phenomena, the programs for the legal and historical education of the society and the performance of the control system within the state. On this last issue the Politburo adopted a special resolution.

In accordance with the spirit of the resolutions of the 9th Congress and the decisions of the 12th Central Committee Plenum, the Politburo adopted a resolution defining the principles and procedure for intraparty consultation, on obligating party echelons and organizations to regularly employ this important form of consulting the opinion of working people before reaching important decisions.

Organizing and supervising the party's ideological and propaganda activities, in their public declarations the Politburo and Secretariat of the Central Committee repeatedly referred to the experience gained by the PZPR and the entire society during the past 40 years. On assessing the first stage of the celebration of this 40th anniversary, they drew attention to the resulting revival of civic activism, as manifested in social initiatives and production feats, as well as in the patriotic-educational initiatives of the youth organizations. Local party echelons were placed under the obligation of evaluating the course of the festivities within their organizations and developing correspondingly previously adopted programs.

In accordance with the decisions of the 12th and 13th Central Committee plenums, programs for the economic, legal and historical education of the society have been formed. These programs are an element of planned ideological-upbringing measures among the society and within the party. The Central Committee Secretariat adopted directives on party training for the new academic year and evaluated the preparations for that year.

The Politburo and Secretariat of the Central Committee considered several times problems relating to the implementation of resolutions of the 9th Central Committee Plenum. The political-upbringing situation in higher education was considered thrice in connection with important campaigns conducted within that community (elections of academic authorities, discussions of the student recruitment system, inaugurations of the new academic year). The situation of the educational system on the eve of the new school year was considered. The Central Committee Secretariat evaluated the implementation of the resolution of the 9th Party Congress with respect to the performance of the vocational and regular training systems. The implementation of the "Directives of the Central Committee Secretariat Concerning the Organizational Principles of Work with the Youth Aktiv of the Party and the Socialist Youth Unions" was evaluated. The Politburo met with representatives of the leadership of the Polish Academy of Science concerning the program for the 2nd Congress of Polish Science.

Considerable attention was devoted to assessing the performance of the mass media. The system for the regular and advanced political and professional training of journalists was evaluated.

In accordance with the resolution of the 9th Central Committee Plenum, the Politburo considered a report on the problems ensuing from the letters, complaints and interventions addressed to the Central Committee and party echelons in 1983, on recommending that these problems be regularly discussed at sessions of the executive boards of party echelons and meetings of the basic party organizations.

Another group of problems, always present on the agenda of sessions of the Central Committee Politburo, was economic issues. They were considered in the context of outlining tasks for the party committees and organizations promoting the accomplishment of the social aims of economic development formulated at the 10th, 11th and 14th plenary sessions of the Central Committee.

The PZPR Central Committee Politburo and the Presidium of the ZSL [United Peasant Party] Supreme Council discussed the status of the fulfillment of the program for feeding the nation, finding that significant action has been taken on many issues important to the countryside: new Constitutional amendments were adopted, a longrange program for the development of agriculture and the food economy was worked out, the supplies of means of production were improved, land turnover was streamlined, etc. At the same time, attention was drawn to the urgent need to resolve other difficult problems such as land reclamation, cadre training, acceleration of progress in food production, etc.

Problems of restoring the market equilibrium and improving the supplies of staple manufactured consumer goods have repeatedly figured on the agenda of the Central Committee Secretariat and Politburo. Restoring the market equilibrium and abandoning rationing are of crucial importance to many fields such as restoring work motivation, eliminating speculation in goods, increasing the interest of producers in the quality and use values of their products, etc. It was found that at many work establishments production cost is rising excessively and conservation programs are being underfulfilled. The Central Committee Politburo proposed to the Council of Ministers that it carry out a thorough assessment of the quality of production and services as well as of the performance of the state agencies, ministries and services responsible for them.

Ways of perfecting the principles of housing policy were considered by the Politburo jointly with the Government Presidium (on 21 February). The housing cooperatives and work establishments were asked to set aside a minimum of 30 percent, and the local administrative agencies 50 percent, of their disposable housing stock, to meet the needs of the families whose housing conditions are the most difficult. The Politburo turned to the Council of Ministers with a request for ordering another review of the housing stock used for nonresidential purposes, from the standpoint of the possibilities for allocating it for housing. The Politburo supported a proposal by the trade union for revising the principles for crediting plant social services and housing funds.

The status of health protection for workforces and the provision of social services by work establishments were considered by the Politburo and Secretariat of the Central Committee at deliberations attended by several chairpersons of trade-union federations. The Central Committee Secretariat recommended to party echelons and organizations that they support the initiatives of trade unions, youth federations and worker self-government relating to work protection and the safety and hygiene of labor. The Politburo of the Central Committee asked the trade unions to set up public labor inspection teams even before this year is over.

On regularly considering the problems of the current international situation, the Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee drew special attention to its dangerous trends imperiling world peace, due to the confrontational policy of the American administration. It was stressed that, in view of the growth in international tensions, it is particularly important to strengthen the unity and cohesiveness of the community of socialist countries and carry out consistently and in a coordinated manner the jointly developed initiatives and programs. The documents adopted by the economic conference of the CEMA member countries at the highest level were completely approved.

The Politburo of the Central Committee considered the results of the working visit to the USSR paid by the first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government, stating that the principal factor in the development of Polish-Soviet relations is the close cooperation between the PZPR and the CPSU, and that the expansion of international contacts and ideological cooperation is of fundamental importance.

The Politburo of the Central Committee also considered the results of party and party-government visits to Poland by the delegations of Bulgaria, Korea, Romania and Yugoslavia.

The guiding idea of interparty actions has been to promote peace and world socialism. The abovementioned visits also served to strengthen political cooperation and broaden economic, scientific and technical cooperation. They also offer proof of the recovery of our standing among the socialist countries as well as of the dominance of the tendency to further strengthen cooperation with the socialist countries outside the socialist community. Progress has also been made in cooperation with the developing countries, particularly those taking the road of profound socioeconomic and political transformations.

At every one of its sessions the Central Committee Secretariat analyzed the processes occurring within the party. In the light of the facts uncovered during the party reports-elections campaign, the need to increase more effectively the participation of workers and youth in party ranks was pointed out.

The activities of selected party organizations and echelons were analyzed as regards the admission of and work with candidate members.

In addition the 1983 review of PZPR cadre personnel was assessed and pertinent recommendations were made. The Central Committee Secretariat considered the reports on the condition of the local party apparats and recommended that the proportion of party functionaries originating from the blue-collar community in these apparats be increased; this also applies to young people who have demonstrated their activism in youth organizations.

With the object of streamlining the performance of the apparat, the Central Committee Secretariat adopted the "Decisions on the Employment of Salaried Political Workers of the Party." The recommendations are that longtime experienced employees of the central and province level apparats of the party



be assigned for 6-12 months to work (by way of personnel exchange) at lower-level echelons with the object of exchanging and gaining new theoretical and practical experience. In addition, graduates of party schools should participate in several weeks long practicums at the Central Committee.

The Politburo considered a report on the proposals made at reports-elections meetings and conferences and addressed to the central party and state authorities. It recommended that all the--more than 2,000--proposals and suggestions be considered by appropriate echelons and institutions and that all of their authors be kept posted about the measures taken to apply these suggestions and proposals.

In view of the great importance of party documents, the Politburo considered problems relating to the operations of the Central Party Archives and selected province party archives.

The sessions of the Politburo and Secretariat of the Central Committee were preceded by numerous consultations with the interested ministries and institutions. A major contribution to preparing the party program documents confirmed by the Politburo or the Secretariat was made by various specific commissions of the Central Committee.

The transmission of the principal decisions of every session of the Politburo and Secretariat of the Central Committee to the party echelons was continued, on using to this end teleconferences with first secretaries of province party committees and members of the Central Committee. To disseminate more broadly information on the work of the leading party bodies, confirmed material is increasingly often dispatched to province party committees, and all the resolutions voted are published in BIULETYN INFORMACYJNY SEKRETARIATU KC [Information Bulletin of the Central Committee Secretariat]. In emulation of the information-consultation meetings of Central Committee members, seminars for first secretaries of province party committees and periodic meetings between the Central Committee Secretariat and the political workers of the Central Committee also are organized.

During the period between March and July 1984 members of the party leadership took part in several hundred plenary sessions, conferences, meetings, seminars and other locally organized gatherings, including a majority of plenary sessions of province party committees, as well as in meetings with plant workforces, meetings of basic party organizations, and meetings with various sociooccupational communities and the party aktiv of discrete provinces.

#### IV. Central Committee Commissions

##### Problem-Oriented Commissions of the Central Committee

During the period covered by this report the problem-oriented commissions of the Central Committee held 59 plenary sessions and their presidiums and working teams met a number of times. The forms of work of the commissions were enriched. Twelve of the sessions were of a traveling nature. Their participants included many representatives of the communities of interest to



the commissions. The deliberations of the commissions were preceded by meetings with plant workforces, party aktiv, etc. Three commissions held joint sessions with their counterpart commissions of the ZSL Supreme Committee and the SD [Democratic Party] Central Committee.

The nature of the work of the Central Committee commissions is linked to the agendas of the plenary sessions of the Central Committee, the Politburo and the Secretariat. This concerns both preparatory work and monitoring the implementation of resolutions.

The commissions report on their activities to the Politburo and Secretariat of the Central Committee, province party committees, the government, and individual ministries, offices and organizations.

Below are the principal problems worked on by the problem-oriented commissions of the Central Committee:

Intraparty Commission (two sessions): It considered a draft document defining the substantive scope and principles of organizing intraparty consultation as well as the tasks of party echelons relating to the gathering and utilization of the proposals obtained through the consultation. The commission set up working teams of its members for taking a position on and preparing answers to discrete groups of suggestions on intraparty matters submitted by participants in the National Conference of [PZPR] Delegates (KKD). A report on the activities of these working teams, "Assessment of the Principal Problems Ensuing from the KKD PZPR and Their Relevance to the Work of the Party and the State and Economic Administration," was forwarded to the Central Committee Secretariat on requesting that it be disseminated within the party as well as forwarded to elements of the state and economic administration.

Ideological Commission (3 sessions): It discussed current aspects of the party's ideological and propaganda activities as well as the tasks for the mass media.

The status and orientations of the ideological activity of the PZPR last year (1983) and this year were discussed. The commission also familiarized itself with an evaluation of the publicistic and informational activities of TRYBUNA LUDU, submitted by the Central Committee's Department of the Press, Radio and Television.

At a traveling session in Poznan the party's ideological activities in discrete social communities were analyzed. Proposals on party training and other forms of ideological-upbringing work were formulated with the active participation of the local party aktiv and on the basis of the experience of the Poznan party organization.

The commission members discussed the draft of a report for initiating discussion at the 17th Central Committee Plenum, on submitting a number of complementary proposals.

Commission for the Economic Reform and Economic Policy (three sessions): It discussed the conditions for and perils to the fulfillment of the 1984 Central Annual Plan (CPR) and evaluated the consonance of enterprise plans with the aims and directions of the socioeconomic policies adopted in the 1984 CPR, as exemplified by the Kalisz and Wroclaw provinces.

At its session on 12 September this commission considered the results and proposals ensuing from approximately 2,500 party meetings and consultation conferences dealing with the assumptions for the 1985 CPR and deemed it expedient to subject to broad public consultation local 1985 draft plans, on recommending that the experience gained in public consultation this year be utilized when developing the 1986-1990 National Socioeconomic Plan.

The commission examined the preliminary theses of the government report on the results and implementation of the economic reform in 1983 and discussed a preliminary project for the development of telecommunications in the period until 1995.

Agricultural Commission (three sessions): It evaluated the fulfillment of the decisions of the 9th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee and the ZSL Supreme Committee and the course of the training meetings conducted jointly with the ZSL during the past fall-winter campaign, and it developed guideposts for spurring party activism in the countryside.

The commission also discussed directions of developing and strengthening state farms and agricultural producer cooperatives in relation to the operation of the economic reform as well as the production results and economic performance achieved, and also problems of political work in the countryside during the fall-winter period.

Commission for Science and Education (three sessions): It dealt with preparations for the elections of authorities in higher schools, opined on a draft decree on academic degrees and titles and discussed a draft decree on research institutes and centers.

The commission analyzed the performance of vocational training and the regular educational system, opined on the assumptions of the 1985 socioeconomic plan in their part relating to education, science and higher education, and discussed the plan for preparations for a Central Committee plenum to be devoted to problems of national education. A project for optimizing the network of extension centers of higher educational institutions was also submitted to the commission.

Commission for Culture (four sessions): It discussed the program for celebrating the 40th anniversary of the PRL in the sphere of culture, the main directions for developing the reform at institutions subject to the Ministry of Culture and the premises of the draft decree on cinematography. In addition, it examined the course of the work on a decree on artistic institutions.

The second session was devoted to discussing the situation in phonography and the music industry. The commission resolved to place the presidium of the All-Polish Party Team of Musicians under the obligation of preparing a program for the reconstruction and development of Polish phonography and music industry, as well as a program for the overall development of music life with special allowance for the popularization of music culture. It approved a recommendation for closer cooperation among the Ministry of Culture and Arts, the Commission for Culture under the PZPR Central Committee and the National Cultural Council in streamlining the procedure for obtaining expertises and developing longrange programs serving to submit appropriate proposals to the Government Presidium.

The commission also examined the progress in building the National Library as well as its functioning. Personnel problems of Polish librarianship were discussed. The commission resolved to establish closer contacts with the Economics Department of the Central Committee and the party authorities of Warsaw on matters relating to the continued construction of the Library. It also resolved to consider drafting a decree on the National Library.

At a joint traveling session of the Commission for Culture under the PZPR Central Committee and the Commission for Culture under the ZSL Supreme Committee in Biala Podlaska Province, dealing with the development of culture in the countryside, it was resolved to conduct a study of the centers and outposts of rural culture. The commissions formulated an evaluation of the current situation of cultural work in the countryside and the prospects for its growth.

Commission for Social Policy (four sessions): It considered the complex whole of problems relating to safety and hygiene of labor. The commission's recommendations were considered in the decisions of the Central Committee Secretariat, and subsequently the Government Presidium adopted a schedule for implementing the commission's postulates.

At a session in Katowice the commission examined problems of plant social services, with special consideration of leisure-time conditions for employees and their families, upon investigating the working and resting conditions of the workforces of several establishments as well as the experience of party and trade-union organizations and plant management in providing social services. In August, the Central Committee Politburo examined the complex whole of problems of social services at work establishments, with special consideration of the course of this year's rest and recreation campaign, on taking into consideration the related findings of this commission. The commission's position was transmitted for implementation to province PZPR committees and concerned ministries.

The commission analyzed a report of the Ministry of Labor, Wages and Social Services on the status of social services in Poland compared with other countries and decided that it should be presented for broader consultation, particularly with the trade unions, in order to work out an optimal model of social services for the next few years.

Youth Commission (three sessions): It analyzed the sociopolitical situation in the supralementary school, general-academic and vocational school community, with special consideration of the activities of the socialist youth associations. The pertinent proposals served to, among other things, formulate the assumptions for ideological-upbringing work in camps and groupings for this year's summer campaign.

The commission examined the course and results of the conference of the organizational secretaries of the central committees of communist and worker parties, held in May of this year in Sofia, on recommending that the party and youth aktiv be familiarized with the materials and recommendations of that conference.

During a 2-day traveling session in Krosno Province, the 10 years of accomplishments of the Scout Operation "Bieszczady 40" and the prospects for its further growth, as indicated by the educational effects and the measurable work contributions of youth, as well as by the region's needs, were evaluated.

The commission systematically examines the course of the work on a decree on youth affairs as well as the implementation of the proposals submitted at the All-Polish Conference of the PZPR Youth Aktiv in Gdansk.

The commission's members are, jointly with the Central Audit Commission, taking part in monitoring the implementation of the resolution of the 9th PZPR Central Committee Plenum by Central Committee departments and province party committees.

Commission for Representative Bodies and Self-Government (five sessions): It discussed the work and tasks of PZPR members in the self-government bodies of labor cooperatives and cooperatives of the disabled in the light of the decree on the cooperative law. At its traveling session in Poznan, following talks by commission members in seven gminas and cities, the commission considered the preparations for implementing the decree on the system of people's councils and territorial self-government and analyzed the implementation of the previously adopted schedule for applying that decree.

Jointly with the Team for Small Industries, Services, Handicrafts and Private Trade under the SD Central Committee, the commission evaluated the activities of artisan self-government and the participation of PZPR and SD members in these activities.

The commission discussed the preparations for self-government elections, the participation of PZPR members in these elections and the tasks of party echelons, organizations and members in this important political campaign.

On scrutinizing the recommendations of the Parliamentary Commission for Worker Self-Government, the materials of the Socio-Occupational Department of the Central Committee and the materials of the NIK [Supreme Chamber of Control] on monitoring the adherence of the administration to the decree on self-



government, the commission took a position on the actions of party organizations to promote workforce self-government.

In addition, the commission discussed the materials prepared for the 17th Central Committee Plenum and offered various pertinent comments and suggestions.

Commission on Law and Legality (four sessions): It analyzed the socio-political situation in worker communities and evaluated the observance of laws and legality in the country and the application of decrees on preventing and combatting social pathology. In addition, it discussed the work to update the penal law and penal code, the performance of labor courts, the effectiveness of the labor law code and the activities of the collegiums for transgressions.

The commission evaluated the implementation of the amnesty decree and scrutinized the materials on the course of the consultation on the draft decree on the Volunteer Reserve of the Citizen's Militia.

The commission considered reports on the implementation of the Politburo decision of February of this year and presented various comments and suggestions on the complexity of legislative measures, their intrinsic coherence and intelligibility, the strengthening of legality in the conduct of both citizens and state institutions, the struggle against social pathology, etc.

International Commission (three sessions): It considered problems of developing omnilateral cooperation between Poland and the socialist countries, with allowance for cooperation between border provinces.

Assessing the status of the relations between Poland and the GDR and the FRG, the commission found that the menacing international situation due to the confrontational course of United States imperialism and the revival of revisionist and revanchist forces in the FRG necessitates a further strengthening of the unity between the PRL and the GDR and their cooperation on the international arena.

The commission found that the sole basis for developing mutually advantageous cooperation between the PRL and the FRG is the treaty of 1970.

Discussing the prospects for developing the cooperation between Poland and the other CEMA member countries, the commission stressed that the Moscow summit conference initiated a new important stage in the economic development of these countries, the expansion of mutual cooperation and the strengthening of the unity and cohesiveness of the socialist community. The resolutions of that conference are of great significance to the economic security of our countries.

Commission for Public Health and Environmental Protection (five sessions): Jointly with the Commission for Health Protection and Physical Culture under the ZSL Supreme Committee, it evaluated the status of health care for the rural population.



The commission considered problems of sanatorium medicine and control over policies for assignment of patients to sanatoriums, the preparatory and regular training of medical personnel for the needs of health service, the employment situation and working-living conditions of middle-level medical personnel, aspects of public education as regards environmental protection and the status of the utilization of the principal investments relating to that protection.

In its work the commission availed itself of the opinions and evaluations of province party committees and community party organizations. It also broadly availed itself of the opinions of experts, socio-occupational organizations, trade-union and self-government organizations and parliamentary commissions. Such a procedure for preparing materials and recommendations served to work out thoroughly considered positions and opinions of the commission with respect to every issue of interest to the concerned and responsible ministries and the party leadership.

Commission for Suggestions, Complaints and Signals From the Population (four sessions): It evaluated the implementation of the resolution of the 9th Central Committee Plenum in the state and cooperative institutions providing services to agriculture, discussed the principal sociopolitical problems contained in the letters and personal interventions addressed to party echelons at all levels during the year 1983 and familiarized itself with reports on the nature of the epistolary interventions addressed to the PZPR Central Committee during the first quarter of 1984.

The commission's traveling session in Piotrkow Province was devoted to investigating the social conditions of the workforces of certain establishments and monitoring the manner in which signals from the population are perceived and attended to.

The commission evaluated the performance of the Social Security Administration (ZUS) and transmitted its recommendations to the Commission for Social Policy under the Central Committee as well as to the Politburo of the Central Committee. In addition, it interceded with the departments of the Central Committee and ministries responsible for implementing the decree on pensions and annuities and improving the performance of the ZUS.

Commission on Mining (five sessions): At its traveling sessions in Katowice Province this commission evaluated the status and development of the mining health service, the socioeconomic situation at black coal mines, problems of mining and power industry and aspects of the development of power industry in Poland until the year 2000.

The commission also deliberated on improvements in the organization and management of coal industry and the assumptions of the 1985 Central Annual Plan.

Commission on Women (two sessions): It analyzed the performance of the alimentation fund and transmitted appropriate recommendations to the concerned ministries.

At a traveling session in Walbrzych, following meetings with women at production plants as well as with plant and party aktiv and the aktiv of social organizations, the commission analyzed the activities of women in representative bodies, citizen self-governments and social organizations.

Maritime Commission (four sessions): It took a position on the draft decision of the Government Presidium concerning the state's maritime policy and the implementation of production and service tasks by units of the maritime economy in 1983.

At a session in Ustka the status and development prospects of facilities for sea fisheries were analyzed.

At a session in Szczecin the status of ideological-upbringing work among the crews of Polish seagoing vessels was discussed, on analyzing the implementation of the related resolution of 1975 of the Central Committee Secretariat. The commission informed the Central Committee Secretariat of its position, and the latter, in accordance with the provisions of the resolution of the 10th Central Committee Plenum, will issue detailed directives on intensifying ideological-upbringing work among the crews of Polish seagoing vessels.

The commission also examined the status of the introduction of incentive systems at enterprises of the maritime economy.

#### Thematic Commissions

Following the completion of the work of the Central Committee's Commission for Elucidating the Circumstances, Facts and Causes of Social Conflicts in the History of the PRL, as well as of the Team for Drafting an Integral Assessment of the History of the Polish Worker Movement, the sole still operating thematic commission to be established by virtue of the resolution of the 9th Extraordinary Congress is the Commission for Developing the Longrange PZPR Program.

Taking into account the experience gained in drafting the program during the period prior to the National Conference of PZPR Delegates, the activities of the commission and its bodies were somewhat reorganized. The editorial team was divided into seven problem-oriented sections, dealing with the following problems:

1. Our goal--the mature socialist society.
2. Main conditions for Poland's development.
3. Strengthening the role of the working class.

4. Strategy of socioeconomic development.
5. Tasks relating to the ideological superstructure.
6. Development of the socialist state.
7. Role and tasks of the PZPR.

Stages and timelines for further activities of the commission were worked out. Organizational-program assumptions for further work on the longrange program will be submitted for confirmation to the 17th Central Committee Plenum.

#### V. Immediate Tasks

##### Central Committee:

By the end of this year two plenary sessions are to be held in accordance with the session plan adopted at the 15th Central Committee Plenum: the 17th session, to deal with strengthening the state, developing socialist democracy and consolidating public order and discipline, and the 18th session, to deal with the country's socioeconomic development, the 1985 Central Annual Plan and the application of the economic reform.

In addition preparations for next year's plenary sessions (to deal with the intelligentsia, the educational system, intraparty matters and economic problems) will be continued.

##### The Politburo and Secretariat of the Central Committee:

By the end of this year the Politburo and Secretariat of the Central Committee will focus their work on preparing the scheduled 18th plenary session of the Central Committee. In this connection, they will examine the assessments and reports on the fulfillment of previous Central Committee resolutions on economic policies (8th, 10th and 14th plenums) and the government anti-inflationary and conservation program. The subjects of detailed analyses and political decisions will be: the 1985 Central Annual Plan on allowing for the results of the public consultations conducted, the assumptions of the National Socioeconomic Plan for the next 5-year period and analytic-program materials relating to such sensitive economic problems as the monetary and market equilibrium, the country's balance of payments and the state's social policies.

Other issues to be also considered include aspects of the party's ideological and political activities, the development of the trade-union movement and problems of the rising generation, including the results of the consultation on changes in the system of recruitment for higher studies, etc.

Work on the longrange PZPR program will be continued.

##### Problem-Oriented Commissions of the Central Committee:

The attention of the commissions of the Central Committee will be concentrated on matters relating to the implementation of the resolutions of the 9th Extraordinary Congress of the party, the National Conference of Delegates and the plenary sessions of the Central Committee.

Many commissions plan to continue work on preparing future plenary sessions of the Central Committee. The practice of traveling sessions of the commissions will be continued. Joint sessions of these commissions also are planned.

The work of the problem-oriented commissions and their role in the activities of the Central Committee and its Politburo and Secretariat are becoming an important element of the permanent bond between the Central Committee and party organizations and local party echelons, as well as with plant workforces and various other constituencies.

Warsaw, 15 October 1984

1386

CSO: 2600/452

POLAND

## EXECUTIVE ORDERS ON POLICE, SECURITY SERVICE PROCEDURES

### Fines Levied by Militia

Warsaw DZIENNIK USTAW in Polish No 49, 26 Oct 84 p 606

[Order of the Minister of Internal Affairs of 28 September 1984 Amending the Order on Defining Misdemeanors Which the Members of Citizens' Militia Are Entitled To Penalize by Levying Fines]

[Text] On the basis of article 67 § 1 of the Code of Misdemeanor Proceedings (DZIENNIK USTAW 1971 No 12, item 116; 1972 No 49, item 312; 1975 No 16, item 91 and No 45, item 234; 1982 No 16, item 125 and No 45, item 291; 1983 No 6, item 35 and No 44, item 203), the following is decreed:

1. The following changes are introduced in § 1 of the order of the minister of internal affairs of 18 December 1971 on outlining misdemeanors which the members of Citizens' Militia are entitled to penalize by levying fines (DZIENNIK USTAW No 37, item 344 and 1979 No 6, item 28):

1) after the words "62 § 1" the words "63a § 1" are added;

2) point 6 is worded:

"6) article 55, points 2 through 6 of the law of 10 April 1974 on the registration of the populace and ID cards (DZIENNIK USTAW 1984 No 32, item 174).";

3) point 9 is worded:

"9) in the resolutions of national councils and orders of local agencies of state administration of general jurisdiction, establishing regulations for the protection of life or health of the population, protection of property or maintenance of safety, law, quiet and public order, the violation of which entails the penalty of a fine.";

4) point 13 is worded:

"13) article 25 of the law of 17 June 1959 on passports (DZIENNIK USTAW 1967 No 17, item 81; 1971 No 28, item 261 and 1983 No 66, item 298)."



2. The order takes effect on the day of publication.

Minister of Internal Affairs: C. Kiszczak

### Vehicular Use by Security

Warsaw DZIENNIK USTAW in Polish No 49, 26 Oct 84 pp 606, 607, 608

[Order of the Minister of Internal Affairs of 28 September 1984 on the Guidelines for Use by the Officers of the Security Service and Citizens' Militia of Vehicles and Other Objects Owned by Units of the Socialized Economy, State Institutions and on the Mode of Seeking Compensation for Ensuing Damages to Property]

[Text] On the basis of article 13, paragraph 2 of the law of 14 July 1983 on the office of the minister of internal affairs and on the jurisdiction of the agencies reporting to him, the following is decreed:

§ 1.1. Members of the Security Service and the Citizens' Militia, henceforth referred to as "the officers," can, in cases of urgency, commandeer without compensation, along the guidelines set down in this order, vehicles or other objects owned by units of the socialized economy, state organizations and private citizens, if this is required in order to fulfill a service task with a view toward saving human life or health or preventing damage to valuable property, especially in the event of:

- 1) natural catastrophe,
- 2) disaster,
- 3) hot pursuit:
  - a) of persons having committed crimes against human life or health or valuable property; crimes against state installations and important public utilities, or escorts guarding persons, money or valuables; crimes against an officer, member of the military or other person entitled to bear firearms;
  - b) of a dangerous criminal who has unquestionably attempted escape while being escorted.

2. The use of a vehicle or another object by an officer can occur:

- 1) with its owner or operator participating,
- 2) with the owner or operator not participating, if particular circumstances so require and the officer has respective rights or the skill of operating the vehicle or another object in question.

§ 2. In the event of using a vehicle or another object without the participation of its owner or operator, the officer is obligated to issue a receipt

registering the date and hour when the vehicle or another object was commandeered, the first and last name (company name) of the owner or operator of the vehicle or object, a description of the vehicle or object, and, with regard to the vehicle, also the make, the license plates and the amount of fuel, the first and last names of the officer and the name of the organizational unit of the ministry of the interior he is with.

§ 3.1. Specifically, the officers can commandeer:

- 1) cars,
- 2) horse-drawn carriages,
- 3) scooters, boats, motorboats and other craft,
- 4) wired and wireless communications equipment.

2. The provisions of paragraph 1 do not apply to the vehicles and other objects owned by:

- 1) organizational units reporting to the Ministry of National Defense;
- 2) facilities of the social health care service;
- 3) organizational units of the prison system;
- 4) firefighting units;
- 5) diplomatic and consular offices; persons employed by such missions and offices as well as members of their families; also, by other persons enjoying privileges and immunity on the basis of treaties, agreements or commonly recognized international customs as long as they are not Polish citizens;
- 6) the handicapped.

3. The provisions of paragraph 1 also do not apply to vehicles and other objects:

- 1) participating in rescue efforts or repairing damage caused by failures in the power grid, sewers and so on;
- 2) involved in transporting monetary valuables of units of the socialized economy and state institutions;
- 3) providing services to the armed forces,
- 4) transporting the sick, invalids or handicapped.

§ 4.1. The officer commandeering a vehicle or another object is obligated to:

- 1) present his service ID to the operator of the vehicle or another object,
- 2) inform the operator of the legal basis for commandeering his vehicle or another object,
- 3) coordinate the expected time and place for the return of the vehicle or another object in the event it is used without the participation of the operator,
- 4) issue the receipt referred to in § 2.

2. In justified cases, actions referred to in paragraph 1 point 3 can be omitted.

3. The receipt referred to in paragraph 1, point 4 can be written up and issued by another officer or after the task has been taken care of.

4. In the event the time and place of the return of the vehicle or another object has not been agreed upon in cases referred to in paragraph 2, the officer is obligated to inform the owner or operator of the vehicle or another object of the time and place the vehicle will be returned immediately after the completion of the task.

§ 5.1. The vehicle or other objects are returned at the agreed-upon location and time.

2. If the service task is completed before the time referred to in § 4, paragraph 1, point 3, or if the need to use the vehicles or other objects no longer exists, they should be returned to their owners or operators immediately.

3. If the owner or operator fails to reclaim the vehicle or another object at the agreed-upon time, it is kept in the custody of the respective organizational unit of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

§ 6.1. As soon as the use of the vehicle or another object is completed, the officer is obligated to prepare a written report describing the essential circumstances of the use, and especially information on the mode of activities outlined in § 4.

2. The officer submits the report referred to in paragraph 1 to his superior; if the vehicle or another object is used outside the district of the unit the officer is with, he also informs the commander or officer of the day of the proper regional (city, district) office of internal affairs.

3. Unwarranted or improper use of the vehicle or another object by the officer is treated as a violation of service discipline.

§ 7.1. The return of the vehicle or another object is registered in an official record; the latter is drawn up by a representative of the organizational

unit of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, which returns the vehicle or another object, with the consent of the owner or operator of the vehicle or object.

2. The official record of transfer of the vehicle or another object should contain: a description of the condition of the vehicle or another object before and after its use by the officer, identification of possible damage or degree of depreciation as well as possible claims by the owner or operator, signatures of the owner or operator of the vehicle or object or the institution, and the signature of the representative of the organizational unit of the Ministry of Internal Affairs which returns the vehicle or object.

3. If there is disagreement with regard to the kind and degree of damage or depreciation of the vehicle or another object, a representative of the organizational unit of the Ministry of Internal Affairs returning the vehicle or object or its owner or operator retains experts in order to ascertain the kind and degree of damage or depreciation.

4. In case of considerable depreciation or damage to the vehicle or another object to a degree rendering their proper use impossible, the minister of internal affairs assists the owner in obtaining a new vehicle or object.

§ 8.1. The agency in charge of compensation begins investigation either officially or at the request of the owner or operator of the vehicle or another object.

2. If no decision on granting or refusing compensation is made within 3 months of filing for compensation, and also in case the claims of the owner or operator of the vehicle or another object are not recognized in the decision, they are entitled to bring suit in general court or in state economic arbitration.

§ 9.1. In case of damage or loss of the vehicle or another object, its owner is entitled to reimbursement.

2. The cost of motor fuel and oil consumed during the use of the vehicles or objects referred to in § 3, paragraph 1 by the officer is reimbursed from the segment of central budget allocated to the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

3. Regardless of the reimbursement of costs referred to in paragraph 2, opportunity to purchase fuel in the amount corresponding to that consumed should be provided.

4. The reimbursement referred to in paragraph 1 is not provided if the entire amount of damage can be covered in a fashion envisaged by the regulations on mandatory vehicle insurance.

5. If the amount received from the insurer is less than the actual damage, the owner of the vehicle or another object can apply for supplementary reimbursement.

§ 10.1. Application for reimbursement is filed at the Ministry of Internal Affairs if the vehicle is used by an officer working at the ministry or at the proper provincial office of the interior where the officer using the vehicle or another object works.

2. Investigation of reimbursement (paragraph 1) is carried out by a person nominated by the minister of internal affairs or the chief of the provincial office of internal affairs.

§ 11.1. The following should be determined in the course of the investigation:

- 1) the kind, scope, time, place and reasons for the damage;
- 2) the amount of damage;
- 3) circumstances under which the damage was inflicted;
- 4) the person who has inflicted the damage or the one responsible for it.

2. If this is called for, witnesses are questioned and the opinion of experts sought.

3. An official record of the course of the investigation is made, which, besides the definitions referred to in paragraph 1, should determine:

- 1) the date and place of activities as well as the first and last names of the person carrying out the investigation; also the name and last name (company name) and address of the injured party;
- 2) the amount of reimbursement sought, suggested and settled for out of court;
- 3) first and last names and addresses of the persons debriefed (witnesses) and the content of their testimony;
- 4) the content of the experts' opinion.

4. The official record is signed by the person carrying out the investigation and the injured party or his representative.

§ 12.1. If the investigation brings about an agreement on the amount of reimbursement, a settlement is signed.

2. The person carrying out the investigation on the authority of the minister of internal affairs or the chief of the provincial office of internal affairs signs the settlement with the injured party.

3. The settlement provides the basis for paying out reimbursement.



4. The reimbursement is paid by the Ministry of Internal Affairs or the provincial office of internal affairs.

§ 13. Guidelines for granting compensation in the event of loss of life or damage to health as well as damage to property while rendering assistance to the Security Service or the Citizens' Militia are established by separate regulations.

§ 14. The order takes effect on the day of publication.

Minister of Internal Affairs: C. Kiszczak

9761

CSO: 2600/401

POLAND

ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF TRADE UNION MEETING PRESENTED

Platform Outlined

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 27 Nov 84 p 2

[PAP report: "Documents of the First Congress of the National Trade Union Agreement, concluded in Bytom on 25 November"]

[Text] As we have already reported, the First Congress of the National Trade Union Agreement [OPZZ] which ended last Sunday adopted several documents concerning matters of the highest importance for the working people of our country and for the labor movement. Here is their contents:

Resolution on Objectives and Program of Action of OPZZ

The OPZZ adopts for realization the objectives and the program of action of the Polish labor movement, submitted in the form of a draft to the first nationwide meeting of trade unions.

The motions accepted by the OPZZ constitute an integral part of this program.

The OPZZ obligates the council to pursue the actions undertaken by the College of Chairmen of National Trade Union Organizations as well as by the group of promoters who organized the nationwide meeting of trade unions.

The OPZZ obligates the council to use in its actions all suggestions, remarks and demands contained in the official record and enclosures.

Resolution on the Functioning of OPZZ Structures

1. The OPZZ, taking into account the multiunion discussion, obligates:

--the Executive Committee to apply to the PRL Council of State for permission to let the OPZZ start its activities as a national union structure;

--the Statutes Commission to draft an OPZZ statute, to submit it to a general consultation, and, after taking into account opinions voiced during the process, to submit the statute to the OPZZ Council for approval;

--the council to initiate as quickly as possible organizational procedures with the object of establishing the OPZZ's legal status.

2. The OPZZ, as a nationwide labor organization which unites over 90 percent of all union members, authorizes the Executive Committee to act as a representative of the principles, objectives and interests of the OPZZ before all institutions, organizations and offices in Poland and abroad [which] warrants the takeover of the property of the former trade union organizations as quickly as possible. To this end, the Executive Committee is under obligation to take urgent steps in this matter.

3. The OPZZ is of an open nature, which means that it can be joined by national union organizations created after its establishment, and that it can have local structures with the purpose of diversifying given ways of acting, powers and procedures.

#### Unions' Stance on Economic Matters

The defense of the working people's interests in the present situation also means active participation by the union movement in the setting and realization of social and economic goals.

Since we are the owners, we have to look at our workplaces as the owners do.

Only work which is carried out with reliability and is well organized can create material goods and yield services in quantity and quality that would satisfy all of us. That is why we will build prestige and respect for the people who are hard and honest workers.

We watch with concern the decrease of the value of the work, signs of workers' duties being neglected, the spreading of a peculiar "slapdash" philosophy, waste, bad customs, drinking on the job, and theft of public property. Trade unions cannot be indifferent to these phenomena. We will counter them with means suited to the function with which the law has entrusted us.

Since we share the responsibility for the quality of work, we will favor the best and make a point of tying solidly every worker's appraisals and rewards to the evaluation of the work he performs. The union movement must uphold the dignity of man's work and its high position in society, it must safeguard law-abidingness in labor relations.

We declare our confidence in the government's economic activities. At the same time, we reserve the right to evaluate the effectiveness of these actions, and, above all, the economic performance, which is the center of people's attention.

Economic activities, in order to yield the best results, have to be wisely organized. That is why we are calling for a rational and effective reform of the economy.

Our opinion is that the economic difficulties cannot be fought at the cost of reducing working people's living standards, with, at the same time, certain social groups getting rich in an unjustified manner.

Increasing effectiveness through better management, organization, work discipline, technological and technical progress is the only way of overcoming economic difficulties. We believe that the reserves hidden in the human and material potential of our economy are not used sufficiently. This is reflected in numerous manifestations of uneconomical behavior, waste, bad organization of work and production. This leads to an increase of costs of production and prices.

We are against the economic arbitrariness in making administrative decisions.

Currently, some enterprises, in spite of their good work and production which is needed by society, are in a situation of bankruptcy, and their workers lose out. At the same time, other enterprises, which do a worse job, are in a better financial situation. We declare ourselves against discretionary and negotiable subsidies for inefficient economic units, at the expense of enterprises doing a good job. We have all the right to honest, well-organized work, yielding an output needed by society.

We are positively against systematic price increases [treated] as the only socially felt means of healing the economy. We demand a production-and not inflation-oriented policy.

We wish to emphasize that it will be impossible to adopt a program of eliminating our country's debt without drastic market-and import-oriented changes in the economic structure. We expect specific and effective actions, solutions, and a government position in this matter.

The economic crisis cannot justify constantly low managerial efficiency, and be a basis for a better evaluation of economic performance.

We call for a program of a gradual and possibly quick restoration of the balance between demand and supply in each sector of the food and consumer goods markets. We believe that the consistent implementation of such a program means an opportunity to create a real motivation for a more productive work, paid for with zlotys having a real value based on consumer goods and services.

We call for the abolition, in the near future, of the rationing of food, with the exception of meat and meat products.

We consider it indispensable to:

--reduce the inflation rate,

--gradually raise people's living standards.

We expect a guarantee of pay increases which will generally offset the cost of living increases. To this end, the principle "To each according to his work" should be specifically respected, with a proper ratio between the production and the budget spheres assured at the same time. We declare ourselves in favor of putting pay systems consistently in order.

In particular, we demand an immediate readjustment of disability and retirement benefits, and a minimum wage increase. It is also indispensable to raise the basic share of enterprises' welfare and housing funds.

We believe that the influence of trade unions on the economy should be carried out mainly through the conclusion of new collective labor agreements and social contracts concluded in enterprises. The labor contracts must be agreements which will stipulate the right to compensation and benefits corresponding to the performed work and appropriated from funds gained through the realization of specific economic tasks by the workers. In order to stimulate the worker to honest work and have an impact on the realization of economic tasks, trade unions must have full access to all data, information and analyses concerning the economy.

We will undertake actions which will inspire the workers to promote technological and organizational progress through, first of all, technical improvements and workers' inventiveness. We see the need to promote work competition in those plants where the work is well organized and its intensification yields concrete and measurable results.

We support the development of comprehensive cooperation between the agencies of workers self-management and plant union organizations. While recognizing partnership between the union organization and workers self-management in social and economic matters inside the enterprise, as a union movement we will represent the interests of all employees in solving social and economic problems at the level of the whole country and branches. We will safeguard the socialist idea of the constant increase of the working people's participation in decisions about their enterprises, professional environment and the whole country.

Declaration on Joining the PRON

Polish people still need unity.

All citizens must serve this idea, all those who are concerned about the fate and future of our country. With them is also the trade union movement, which is a consequence of its obligations and the goals it has to achieve for the working people.

The OPZZ identified with the objectives and the program of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON].

The OPZZ hereby joins the PRON and authorizes the OPZZ Council to file for membership.



## Appeal to Working People, Trade Unionists, All Progressive Peace-Loving Social Forces in the World

We, delegates of the nearly 5-million strong reborn trade unions, gathered at the national meeting in the workers' city of Bytom, on 24 and 25 November 1984, have founded the OPZZ, which has elected its statutory executive organs. In creating a nationwide union representation, and approving the ideological and political program under the banner "Socialism: yes, distortions: no," we have entered a qualitatively new stage in the development of Polish trade unionism.

On behalf of Polish trade unionists we are sending our greetings to working people and trade unionists in all socialist, capitalist and developing countries. The internationalist bonds linking working people all over the world should constitute a powerful barrier against threats from the forces of imperialism, militarism, revenge, and international reaction which are forcing an unrestrained arms race and trying to solve all international controversies by means of force. According to the spirit and letter of the UN Charter and the CSCE Final Act, mankind, in defending its existence, should fight for the highest value, which is the right to live and work in peace. Being at the forefront of the struggle for peace and international security, we condemn all manifestations of imperialist forces' interference in the internal affairs of countries and peoples.

We are outraged by the last ILO decisions regarding Poland, which confirm the fact that this organization is a tool in the policy of certain Western powers directed against Poland and other socialist countries.

We give our whole-hearted support to the initiatives of the socialist community and other countries and sociopolitical forces which aim at building confidence and detente in East-West relations. Next year's celebrations of the 40th anniversary of the victory over Hitler's fascism will be an opportunity to undertake new initiatives.

We are solidary with trade unionists in those countries where, faced with the raising unemployment, they wage a dramatic struggle for the preservation of basic workers rights, which are brutally violated where capitalism reigns.

We are sending our proletarian expressions of support and solidarity to those fighting for social liberation from imperialism, neocolonialism and racism.

We declare ourselves for the establishment of a fair international economic order.

We pledge our assistance in relieving the famine disaster in Ethiopia, caused by the horrible drought.

We express our wish to collaborate with the World Federation of Trade Unions and all progressive democratic sociopolitical forces in the world.

Long live the international solidarity of all working people!

Long live peace and social justice all over the world!

#### Rakowski's Message

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 26 Nov 84 p 4

[Speech by M.F. Rakowski to the OPZZ meeting]

[Excerpts] Deputy Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Rakowski, chairman of the Council of Ministers Committee for Trade Union Affairs, spoke on behalf of the state authorities.

Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski authorized me to extend to you his warm greetings. Just as was the case in the Baildon steelworks and in the Nowotko plants, the first secretary of our party and head of the government expresses his conviction that the reborn trade union movement is not only the largest organization of the Polish working classes but also an extremely important force in the realization of the tasks and goals of socialist renewal which originated at the Ninth PZPR Congress, and is favorable to the development of the Polish nation.

Without you, union friends, without your active involvement in all problems of a social and political nature, the tasks and goals of socialist renewal may become difficult to implement.

Comrade Jaruzelski wishes you fruitful deliberations and embarking on the road leading to a program which will couple the responsibility for the working people and their rights with the responsibility for the ways of development of socialist Poland.

Dear colleagues, trade unionists, this is a historical moment and one would like to feel its breath [both] today and tomorrow. The reborn trade unionism has overcome another obstacle. It is reaching a higher, needed degree of integration.

This integration, however, has various aspects. From the standpoint of the role which the reborn union movement plays and can play in the fifth decade of the existence of People's Poland, it is very important that your movement has already brought together all those who thought it possible to overcome the divisions which had appeared among working people in the past years, and that class and national goals have taken the lead.

It is on these grounds that we saw meet in the reborn union movement former Solidarity members, those, first of all, who by the end of 1980 thought that the new movement would be a class movement, a force which would strengthen the leading role of the working class in our society. But they were disappointed. It is on these grounds that members of the former branch unions, autonomous unions, as well as those who were not members of any union, have met.

We express our esteem and respect for all those trade unionists, without regard to their former affiliation, who in difficult moments, often while fighting their own hesitation and indecision, courageously and manfully embarked on the road of building a uniform union movement. The uniform union movement is a guarantee of the unity of the Polish working class, of the unity of the working people. This unity is one of the greatest guarantees of the prosperous development of People's Poland. Not everybody understands this yet today. They still stand aloof. We may express our belief that they also will come to you, if not today then tomorrow, that they will join your ranks on the ideological platform that you will work out. They will come because this is the law of life, this is the course of history. He who would like to disrupt uniform trade unionism would do a bad turn to the Polish working class, to our nation, no matter what catchwords he may use. There is not and cannot be any return of conflicting trends and tendencies.

As the chairman of the Council of Ministers Committee for Trade Unions, I was and I am of opinion that the formation of proper relations between the state and economic administration and the trade unions can be based only on the grounds of partnership and mutual understanding reached as a result of discussion and confrontation of different opinions and views.

Partnership, however, does not come as a godsend. The rules on which it is based have to be worked out. We are on the right track, although one cannot say that the present situation is ideal yet. But partnership requires a lot of responsibility for the words and acts of each of the sides.

We realize that the trade unionists do not always believe that the principles of partnership are respected by various cells of the state and economic administration. They feel intuitively that every administration representative is not always inspired by these principles. We share these feelings.

On behalf of our party and government leaders I wish to assure you that, along with you, we will teach those administration representatives who violate these principles or treat them formalistically how to understand them. Along with you, with your nationwide representation, we will create conditions for the right opinions of trade unionists to be listened to properly and used accordingly.

We also express our conviction that the trade unions will become a force promoting progress and that they will restore respect for work. On behalf of the committee and myself, I wish you much success.

#### Miodowicz Sets Goals

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 26 Nov 84 p 2

[Report on speech by Alfred Miodowicz to the OPZZ meeting]

[Excerpts] He recalled that the decision to start working on a comprehensive trade union program was made in the Nowotko Plants in Warsaw. Last September, the program platform was drafted, on which trade unions were

consulted. As a result of disputes and heated discussions, the concept of a new form of the national union structure was born. Three fundamental principles underlie this concept. First of all, the independence of trade unions at workplaces will be preserved, and even strengthened. The rule follows that the OPZZ is not an authoritative body but an open representation of trade unions. We are talking about plant union organizations affiliated with specific federations or uniform national unions. This means in practice that OPZZ decisions in important matters will have to be consulted with those unions. This is an original concept, not found in the postwar social life of our country. Finally, the third principle: the tendency toward unity has and will have nothing to do with the rebuilding of old union organizational structures or with the return of old mistakes. Therefore, the necessity of observing constantly the principles of democracy in union activities becomes especially important.

Watching the realization of the agreements concluded by representatives of the working people and the authorities, as a result of the protest of the working class, was included among the basic, most urgent goals of the union movement. The unions' constant concern about compliance with the rules of social justice is here one of the crucial factors. Progress in this area has been unsatisfactory in recent years. We cannot speak of social justice in a situation where an employee who has been doing a good job for several dozen years finally reaches a certain living optimum, while at the same time there are next to him examples [proving] that it is enough to go abroad on a 2 to 3-year contract to be "settled" for the rest of one's life.

One cannot speak of social justice when after several years of work, a miner who retires to collect his well-earned benefits gets only a few [3-19] thousand zlotys, which means that his work, dozens of years of work, have been depreciated. One cannot speak of social justice when living by one's wits is rated higher than working hard for several years for society's good. These matters need to be settled, and the trade unions have to take the initiative here.

Speaking of the August [1980] agreements, Alfred Miodowicz continued, we are sorry to mention that the government employees from the central offices have not learned their lesson properly. The middle level of the central government administration is unchangeable, and has remained the same for dozens of years. It is hard to ask those people to change their mentality suddenly. From the point of view of the authorities' efficiency, of the efficiency of the government, this is not very understandable. One has to put that straight. The situation when every matter, even simple ones, require a decision by the Presidium of the Government is unacceptable. Trade unionists criticize totally incomprehensible, even careless, remarks by members of the government on important matters concerning the living standards of the working people. This was recently the cause involving the minister of transportation. The trade unions are concerned not only with the way the ministry approached this problem but [also] with the fact that the postal and telecommunication rate increases in the fourth quarter of this year coincided with the rent and fare increases. The Ministry of



Transportation was supposed to submit a program of savings, improvement of services, and revision of the numerous discounts in train and bus fares. Yet it is precisely on these matters that the ministry did not express its opinion.

One of the articles of the social agreements referred to housing. This problem is crucial to the working people, especially to the young. The difficulties in this sector are caused by the poor condition of the housing industry. It seems that it is the trade unions that ought to suggest to the government a new approach to this problem instead of insisting on a model which has failed. One should, for example, reflect on whether cooperative housing, supplemented by private housing, should not make up not more than 50 percent of all the housing industry. The rest could be built on a completely different basis, which is proved by the example of several enterprises. The OPZZ together with youth representatives must take up this subject.

Experience has shown so far that the conclusions of consultations can be interpreted arbitrarily. This is true also of the 1985 Central Annual Plan [CPR] which has never been explained to the trade unions. It is justified to demand fair talks, but the problem is more serious. Until now, national organizations and the former college of [their] chairmen have been taken by surprise by a great number of projects, assumptions and ideas, not always thought through, which were absolutely impossible to be digested within 10 days or even several weeks. Until now, the government would initiate consultations, and the scattered trade unions would express their opinions, which was understandable. But [now] a new situation is arising. Trade unions are uniting and a central representation is being created which has the possibility of working out its own concepts.

One of the most urgent tasks of the future OPZZ should be to put forth ideas for solutions which would prevent the living standards of the working people from falling. The point is also to see to it that the living standards of the working people increase and, at the same time, that requirements with regard to the private sector be toughened.

The policy of social security should be included in this. The ZUS [Social Security Agency] is a rickety institution, and it is amazing that no serious conflicts have emerged in this area yet. We are concerned about the care for people who have retired after many years of service [or] are collecting disability benefits as a result of accidents or unhealthy working conditions. We do not want to have anything to do with slyboots who take advantage of the situation in order to avoid work and collect disability. The trade unions should come up with new ideas on a social security policy. And, at the same time, we have to remember that many work veterans expect the unions to speak up and say emphatically to the government: It is high time to adjust retirement and disability payments!

In order to gain the possibility to act effectively, the law on trade unions has to be amended. The most important thing is for the trade unions to obtain legislative power, because that is what allows their program goals to be realized.



Another delicate problem concerns union pluralism. There are supporters, many of them, of uniform trade unions in enterprises. They are also advocates of pluralism. Both groups agree on most important matter. When new unions are introduced, however, the crews will split into three parts. Some of them will be for the present, reviving trade unions, and that will be the majority. Some will opt for the new unions. But a considerable part of workers will not join. These are seeds of conflicts within crews. A struggle for control, for union members, for rights and privileges will begin, and this way, very quickly, the economic basis, i.e., the workplace, firm, enterprise, will be ruined. That is why it is important to adopt the principle of a uniform trade union in an enterprise, not because of the concern for the existence of today's trade unions but because it is in the well-understood interest of society, the enterprise, and its crew.

Every employee's care and concern for the firm in which he works is a fundamental condition for the realization of the union program. When we speak of social justice, we mean respect for working people and, by the same token, respect for work. The thing is to produce, and produce well. And to save materials. This is an unpopular subject but it is totally understandable to every working person. Waste, short lifetime of the equipment we manufacture, and its high, not always justified prices are a bane of the present time.

There is much talk about the motivation to work. With that in mind, the Sejm passed the law on wages last January, throwing, however, into the same sack all trades and standardizing this matter thoughtlessly. Now, quite often, not managers or trade unions but employees of the Ministry of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs have the most say in these matters, trying to produce as many uniform agreements as possible for all of industry, transportation, construction and agriculture. This is not the way to [achieve] respect for work or higher productivity. More has to be done to raise the importance of [one's] occupation, to improve industrial safety and hygiene, and to protect employees' health. Enterprise agreements between trade unions and management ought to be the key to the solution of these problems. They should be based on collective labor agreements for each industry. Procrastinating in this problem is highly dangerous and harmful to the national economy and working people.

In conclusion, A. Miodowicz stressed that the program of the reviving trade unionism can be implemented only when the trade unions realize that they are not beginning from scratch because their movement is rooted in its class traditions and in the socialist system. That is why the main point of the program's draft is so important: our goal is a socialism without distortions.

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POLAND

## EFFORTS MADE TO IMPROVE LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 8-9 Dec 84 p 3

[Interview with Gen Div Wlodzimierz Oliwa, minister of administration and land-use management, by Ryszard Bilski]

[Text] At its 17th Plenum the Central Committee of the PZPR passed a resolution on the "Duties of the Party to Strengthen the State, Develop Socialist Democracy, and Consolidate Law and Order and Social Discipline." The second section of this resolution devotes much attention to the functioning of local administration. On the one hand, it underscores the huge role of local administration in the socialist state, indicating that it is an essential condition of strength and authority, while on the other it defines the most important tasks confronting us today. They include the continuing improvement of its organizational structures, upgrading the professional and ideological level of its employees, and the efficient, competent and friendly resolution of public matters.

We are speaking with Wlodzimierz Oliwa, minister of administration and land-use management, precisely about the problems of the responsibilities stemming from the aforementioned resolution.

[Question] How do you assess the local administration? Is it efficient and does it meet society's needs?

[Answer] A good administration strengthens the state, while a bad one weakens it. The government has undertaken multidirectional activities aiming to improve the functioning of the local agencies of state administration. In this area a slow improvement is observed, but it is not sufficient in relation to the actual needs and expectations of society.

The results of public opinion research confirm this certain improvement. They point up a more efficient and informal relationship with clients -- particularly their treatment, a greater concern about information for the citizen, on-time resolution of matters, and a keener examination of complaints and suggestions.

We want this process to be permanent. We will do all we can to hasten the achievement of better results, and to strengthen good role models with complete impartiality; however, we will eliminate and condemn examples of bad work.

[Question] As far as I know, the resolution of the 17th Party Plenum has been transcribed by the administration. How will it be realized?

[Answer] The most important thing is for all employees of the local administration to study the materials of the 17th Plenum and the resolution carefully, to discuss its contents and to draw conclusions for their own workplace. This process has already begun. In offices, departments and organizational sections programs are being devised and specific duties are being assigned which, in short, aim to make the executive apparatus--the administration--serve society in the best way possible.

[Question] One encounters the opinion and even misgivings that a strong administration might begin to eliminate or supplant self-government bodies.

[Answer] This is a misunderstanding. A strong and efficient administration creates beneficial conditions for the development of all forms of self-governments, becoming at the same time its appropriate partner or even helper in the resolution of matters for individual citizens or the problems of groups. Improving administrative work and adapting its role and duties to the contemporary requirements of the socialist state are linked moreover--let us recall--with the enactment of the law on people's councils and territorial self-government. Precisely in this law is found perhaps the most accurate reply to the question raised. This document simultaneously underscores the superior authority of representative organs and delineates the position of the local agencies of state administration.

[Question] It is perhaps an oversimplification, but the work of the government is most frequently assessed from the perspective of the work of the government office. In the view of society--and this was discussed, among other things, at the last meeting of trade unionists in Bytom--the lowest echelon of local administration leaves the most to be desired.

[Answer] I would not stipulate that this is an oversimplification. The relation of the government office to the citizen, its competence--speaking in the most general terms--the level and quality of the functioning of the state administration have an essential influence on how society assesses authority. In large measure, it is responsible for the kind of link the state has with society.

[Question] In society's view, the competence of a government office depends above all on the desire or even humor of a particular official.

[Answer] In the government office just as in the factory, people decide about everything on the basis of their qualifications and motivations....

[Question] Exactly. What is the average salary in the local administration?

[Answer] Approximately 12,500 zlotys. But the possibilities of earning more are not the only motivation. So, too, are greater responsibilities. They are contained in the enacted "Code of Obligations of State Officials."

The continual process of improving the cadres goes on. It depends not only on the dismissal of bad workers, but also on the supplemental training and the upgrading of qualifications. We are devoting particular attention to this issue. Training, moreover, cannot depend on "getting rid" of the subject; it cannot simply be an "ornament" in the daily work of the government office. It must become an important daily element of this work.

[Question] One continually hears complaints that the government office requires more than its share of paperwork to solve even the simplest matters. Can an antidote be found for this?

[Answer] We have the antidote, though perhaps not yet for all "illnesses." Perhaps everyone does not know about this antidote or improperly applies it. For example, the paperwork "illness" does not comply with 220 articles of the code of administrative conduct, in accordance with which the government office cannot demand an affidavit from the citizen if that office can ascertain the particular circumstances.

We are researching these problems. We are seeking effective means of combating them, of eliminating the paperwork plaguing the petitioner that is being demanded, for example, by schools, housing cooperatives and institutions serving agriculture.

It is being considered whether some matters could be documented by the citizen's declaration with equal punishment for falsely doing so, which would also result in a general improvement of social discipline and the growth of responsibility on the part of both the government official and the citizen.

This will be restorative and will expand the possibility of documenting many matters with a personal identity card, for example, place of residence. The housing cooperatives demand in this case...a separate affidavit. It is sufficient to look at the identity card and note down what is required.

It is necessary to consider if an adequate document confirming farm earnings could not be a receipt for the amount of tax paid by the farmer. And since we are talking here about agriculture....When passing on a farm to heirs the Social Insurance Agency requires that in cases where the transferor has not yet reached retirement age many documents are first needed, and only later does the Social Insurance Agency direct the interested party to a medical commission in order to establish a disability group. When the commission does not classify the farmer as disabled, then the whole process is discontinued and the whole effort of gathering documents is for naught. It would suffice to reverse the order, beginning with the medical commission.

[Question] From what you have said, it follows that the upgrading of administrative work, which above all will benefit the citizen, will also improve the health of the administration. Many of its useless, dispensable and time-consuming tasks will simply fall by the wayside.

[Answer] Of course. More time can then be devoted to the aforementioned upgrading of qualifications, and also to a more in-depth analysis of ways to settle difficult matters more quickly.

Continuing along this line....We would like, for example, to free the heads of the gmina councils from the obligation of distributing some of the unprofitable assets, and above all of farm machinery. For the time being, these obligations have been given over as an experiment to the social commissions in Leszno Province.

The issue is that the gmina council heads have more time for direct contact with society. Then their daily activity and decisions will be closer to society's expectations.

[Question] You have surprised me with many details, which concur--let me add--with society's feelings and expectations. Therefore, only one short question remains: when will these higher standards of efficiency begin to take effect?

[Answer] Some of them have already been enacted. We must still wait with others requiring changes in the codes.

The governors received instructions to analyze the way of resolving the most typical and most frequently encountered cases in government offices. As a result of this analysis, many interesting ideas promoting efficiency have been introduced. We are now studying a number of proposals which have been made to the central government.

At the outset of next year we will present specific proposals to the government in this regard. They will involve both propositions for rendering particular matters more efficient and propositions for solving the most general ones slated for enactment in 1985.

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POLAND

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS EXPERT DISCUSSES EAST-WEST ISSUES

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 31 Dec 84-1 Jan 85 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Brig Gen Czeslaw Dega by Karol Szyndzielorz: "The Year 1985 Is Certain To Be Better"]

[Text] Today's new year issue of ZYCIE WARSZAWY contains among other things, a poll in which outstanding Eastern and Western journalists respond to questions posed by members of the editorial staff concerning the anticipated course of development of the world situation. We have directed similar questions to an outstanding authority on international affairs, Brig Gen Czeslaw Dega.

[Question] How do you assess the year 1984 from the standpoint of implementing the policy of dialogue and detente, negotiation and disarmament?

[Answer] The past year will be recorded by posterity as the fifth consecutive year of tremendous tension in international relations, mainly in relations between East and West. They were the direct result of the well-known 1979 decisions of NATO regarding the employment of intermediate range missiles in central Europe. Those decisions tended to disrupt the overall military equilibrium established between the United States and the USSR as well as between the Warsaw Pact and NATO. The introduction of a new generation of missiles into Europe initiated a new phase in the arms race and created the greatest threat to peace in the 40 postwar years.

The year 1984 will likewise be recorded by posterity as a year of immobilizing every possible form of disarmament dialogue in East-West relations, for which the United States will bear the blame. It was also a year of unleashing various cold war and anticommunist forces in the United States, which had also been demonstrated in the presidential election campaign. It was also a year of record arms race, whose escalation is, in accordance with the Reagan concept, supposed to culminate in star wars. The chief purpose of this race is the desire for military domination of the world, and the desire for economic destruction of opponents.

Such a portrayal of the past year would, however, be incomplete, and therefore, inaccurate. It introduced the further strengthening of socialist states. Warsaw Pact countries, in alliance with Soviet might, increased

their defense capabilities. This was now also the 39th consecutive year of peace, marking the longest such period in the modern history of Europe. The territorial and political arrangement established at Yalta and Potsdam, and ratified at Helsinki, as well as the peace policy of the socialist states stand as a guarantee of that peace.

The year 1984 produced new positive phenomena, which the mass peace and antiwar movements undoubtedly are. Their influence appeared greatest during the entire postwar period. The closing days of the passing year produced certain signs of improvement, hopes for renewed disarmament dialogue, for detente in East-West relations. After all, in a week's time a meeting between Andrey Gromyko and George Schultz will take place in Geneva. These are indications of cautious optimism, and speaking more precisely of realism.

[Question] How do you appraise Poland's participation in the activization of the policy of detente and coexistence in the past year?

[Answer] Our disarmament and peace initiatives are known and respected, as are our activities in the UN forum, our mediatory and conciliatory work outside of Europe, the contribution of the Polish People's Army to the activities of the UN peace-keeping forces. A symbol of these endeavors continues to be the Rapacki Plan as well as the Gomulka Plan. We are interested, in view of numerous threats, in detente and European cooperation. After all, Poland lies in the geographic center of Europe. We are aware that our country has become the objective of an unprecedented attack on the part of the forces of imperialism, and in particular on the part of the United States. The Polish crisis was supposed to lead to the weakening of the unity of the socialist states. That strategy ended in a fiasco. We know this perfectly today.

On the threshold of 1985, we are able to state that the isolation of Poland in the international arena did not succeed. The American Government likewise had to recognize this. I regard it as favorable that the Americans are slowly beginning to withdraw from the policy of sanctions as is reflected in the abandonment of opposition to Polish membership in the International Monetary Fund. U.S. allies consistently better understand that their interests in relations with Poland are different than American interests. The united front of NATO nations with regard to Poland has been breached, as was reflected in the numerous visits of politicians and diplomats to Warsaw.

The year 1984 was a year of stable and humanitarian policy in our country, which even those opinions unfavorable to Poland were unable to refute. We have supported the work of socialist countries and progressive forces for the policy of detente and disarmament. We shall continue to strive actively to present a true picture of Poland in the world. Without the slightest doubt this goal was served by the Fifth International Meeting of Journalists in Jablonna. It provided evidence that social forces declaring themselves in favor of disarmament and understanding have consistently greater influence, that they understand and appreciate the foreign peace policy of our country.

[Question] In view of this, how do the prospects for 1985 appear?

[Answer] Threats on the part of imperialism continue to be serious. The year which stands before us marks the 40th anniversary of victory over fascism. And this victory was possible thanks to the fact that people representing various ideologies and philosophies of life had united themselves against a common enemy. We, in our part, always favor a return to the spirit of Helsinki. It is proper to recall that in 1985 10 years will have elapsed since the signing of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. We trust in the strength and wisdom of the left in the Western world. We are emerging from international isolation thanks, among other things, to the stabilization of the internal situation, and thanks to a consistent foreign policy. We wish to be active this year also, to work for the benefit of detente and coexistence, and to support efforts geared to cooling troubled spots in the world.

Wars which are being waged beyond the bounds of Europe, to be sure, concern us all. We are interested in the settlement of controversial matters, for example, in the Near East, in the advancement of local cooperation. We are making preparations for the anniversary session of the UN General Assembly, which will undoubtedly present a recapitulation of the accomplishments of this organization to date and will outline its new directions for working in the furtherance of international peace. We will support the idea of nonnuclear zones in Europe as well as in other regions of the world.

We intend to convoke the World Congress of Intellectuals in Warsaw for the advancement of a peaceful future for the world. We certainly want the most enlightened people of our era to express their opinions from Warsaw on a matter of greatest consequence to everyone, that is, the matter of peace.

[Question] In conclusion, General, are you more of an optimist now than at the beginning of 1984, which is of course coming to a close?

[Answer] My reply will perhaps be stereotyped. But personally, I feel that 1985 will be a better year than 1984.

[Interviewer] Thank you for the interview.

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POLAND

CATHOLIC WEEKLY ARTICLE ON NATIONALISM, CHURCH SPARKS POLEMIC

Historical Importance of National Democrats

warsaw PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI in Polish No 20, 4 Nov 84 p 3

[Article by Aleksander Hall: "What is the Legacy? Reflections on National Democratic Ideas"]

[Text] Nowadays it is not easy for a "person of culture" to admit drawing on the National Democratic tradition.\* A definite majority of opinionmaking milieux and influential intellectual circles is explicitly ill-disposed toward that tradition, which they assess in the main superficially and tendentiously. Their views appear to indicate that the lasting heritage of the National Democratic movement is reducible to a xenophobic and insular nationalism, anti-Semitism and the propagation of an anti-intellectual brand of Catholicism "under the sign of the 'ryngraf' [knight's pectoral with an image of Our Lady or Christ] and the scapular." Analysis of the causes of this situation would require a separate article, and hence I will deliberately omit it in my reflections. I shall confine myself to stating that this caricatural view of the "Endecja" [National Democratic movement] has also largely been perpetuated by the position taken by certain circles which eagerly and uncereemoniously refer to the legacy of Roman Dmowski.\*\* I am not referring to what is

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\*The National Democratic (Endecja) movement was the strongest force on the right in interwar Poland. It opposed socialist and radical peasant reform in the name of Polish unity and led the struggle to "Polonize" Poland by, among other things, championing the cause of the "native" (i.e., Christian and Polish) middle class--translator's note.

\*\*Roman Dmowski, the ideological leader of the Endecja, whose nationalistic vision of a united, monocultural and monoreligious state has often been contrasted with Pilsudski's more liberal vision of a multiethnic, multi-religious Poland--translator's note.

happening among the emigres alone, such as the works of Jędrzej Giertych or the articles of certain publicists working for the London MYSL POLSKA [-----] Decree of 31 July 1981, On the Control of Publications and Entertainment, Article 2, Points 1, 2 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, Item 99; revised in DZIENNIK USTAW, No 44, Item 204, 1983)] [Censored--translator's note]. All this creates a climate in which it is really difficult to speak and write seriously of the heritage of the National Democratic Party, and particularly even to acknowledge it. And yet this topic has to be raised. Two reasons for this appear to be the most important.

A feature of a mature national community is its historical memory, its ability to assimilate and integrate all the valuable creative aspects of its own past. The National Democrats also contributed to creating the shape of Poland. For entire decades their political camp exerted a powerful influence on the course of Polish affairs, meeting with understanding and support among broad circles of the Polish society. There is no reason why we ourselves should voluntarily amputate this part of our historical heritage or tolerate the perpetuation of its caricatural or, in the best case, incomplete image. This is the first reason. The second reason also is important.

The National Democratic Party as a political camp belongs in the past, like the entire gamut of the Polish political movements that had arisen toward the end of the 19th century. It had arisen owing to the coeval status of the Polish question, in connection with the need to choose paths leading toward independence, and lastly in connection with the process of the transformation of the gentry-intelligentsia nation into a modern national community of all the social classes.

It appears that as early as in the second half of the 1930's the structure of the political movements, which after all had derived from the Partition Era, became in some ways an anachronism. It had simply already accomplished the purposes for which it was formed. World War II and its effect on Polish affairs had definitely laid to rest that structure. The nature of the problems with which Polish political thought must deal at present has also changed markedly. Thus there can be no question of a "simple" continuation of any of the prewar political orientations and camps. But the question as to the topicality of discrete elements of their accomplishments is something else. Much of the ideological system of values and political thought of the Endecja has survived.

#### The Importance of the National Community

The national community is an unquestioned value to an overwhelming majority of Poles. The loss of their statehood toward the end of the 18th century compelled Poles to distinguish between two concepts which are often considered identical in West Europe: the state and the nation. In the Polish situation such an identification became impossible. The nation was a lasting value, while the state was a lost value.

A still greater growth of the importance of the national community can at present be observed in the awareness of both broad masses of Poles and the



elites, including those who had until recently been prone to perceive the danger of chauvinism in the emphasis on national values. The reason for this situation is traceable to the events of our most recent history: the pastoral activities of the Church under the direction of the Primate of the Millennium [millennium of the introduction of Christianity in Poland], which consistently linked religious to national values, as perhaps demonstrated most explicitly by the Millennial festivities; the teachings on the nation by the Holy Father John Paul II and the feeling of national unity experienced by nearly every Pole during both of his pilgrimages to his native land; and lastly, the Polish August 1980 and the events which it had initiated as a great experience uniting the nation.

Nowadays these matters are obvious. But it has not always been so. It had not been easy for the recognition of the primacy of the nation over any other social form such as class, estate, international union, the party, the region, or even the state, at the turn of the century, to penetrate social awareness. It will be no exaggeration to state that the National Democrats played a fundamental role in this process. It was they too who had propagated the interpretation of the nation as a community of all estates and social strata, exerting a tremendous effort in order to include the popular masses in the conscious life of the nation and thus multiply the forces desirous of regaining an independent Polish state.

#### National Identity, the Church and the Polish National Community

The nation must protect its distinctiveness; it cannot forfeit its uniqueness which distinguishes it from its neighbors. This is particularly essential in a situation in which a nation lacks its own sovereign statehood. Tradition, historical experience and the created culture define the identity of a nation and endow it with certain specific features characteristic of it alone.

The National Democrats regarded Catholicism as a fundamental element of Polishness. A well-known statement in Dmowski's "Kosciol, narod i panstwo" [The Church, the Nation and the State] is worth citing here: "Catholicism is not an addition to Polishness. It does not color it in some manner. It rather inheres in the very essence of Polishness and to a large extent accounts for that essence. Attempting to separate Catholicism from Polishness among the masses, to isolate the nation from religion and the Church, means destroying the very essence of the nation."

It could be deplored, of course, that during the Second Republic [1919-1939] the marquee of Catholicism or Christianity was too often exploited for purposes of political struggle, and that religious values were abused. It is true also that the National Democratic spokesmen for Catholic Poland not infrequently trivialized the role of the religious factor in the life of the nation. But this cannot alter two facts of a fundamental significance:

1. The turn toward religion and the Church that took place among the rising generation of the Polish intelligentsia during the Second Republic was to a very large extent a consequence of the ideological-upbringing work of the National camp.

2. By consistently acting in behalf of combining national with religious values and propagating the model of the Pole-Catholic, the National Democrats contributed to strengthening Catholicism as a mass phenomenon.

The effects of this work accomplished by the National camp on the eve of independence and during the Second Republic were to prove invaluable later when the great battle for the spiritual face and awareness of the nation had commenced.

#### The Nation and the State

In his "Podstawy polityki polskiej" [Principles of Polish Politics] Dmowski stated: "The nation is the indispensable moral content of the state, while the state is the indispensable political form of the nation. The nation may lose its statehood and not cease to be a nation if it has not broken the thread of its moral linkage with the tradition of statehood; if it has not lost the idea of the nation-state and along with it both conscious and unconscious aspirations to regain a politically independent existence. These aspirations may acquire various forms depending on the conditions, and may be reflected in various shortrange goals, but they must exist. Otherwise, the nation will descend to the level of a tribe."

The striving toward independence must be the indispensable right and most important political aim of a nation deprived of its own sovereign statehood. The exercise by the state of the function of the most important institution in national life should be a natural situation. However, the Polish experience was conducive to the perpetuation of a statist or even anti-statist customs. Following the collapse of the First Republic Poles had very rarely occasion to identify themselves with the state and regard it as their own. This was bound to influence the attitude of Poles toward the state in general.

The National Democrats were consistent spokesmen for a [mono-] national state. This concept was formulated at a time when the rebuilt Second Republic had to be a multinational state. The aim of this concept was to assure for Poles the decisive influence on the course of state affairs and to curtail the influence of the national minorities. The decisions made on Polish affairs during the final stage of World War II rendered this concept no longer topical. Poland ceased to be a multinational state. But the basic National Democratic idea of the relationship between the state and the nation has not at all lost its topicality.

The state should be an emanation of the nation, a reflector of its aspirations. The nation can identify itself with the state only if this condition is met. A state that is divorced from the nation and imposed on it would be unable to gain obedience and respect for itself. Then the *raison d'etat* and the interest of the state would become meaningless concepts. Achieving a situation in which the state enables the nation to attain its primacy is paramount in the hierarchy of political aims.

However, the National Democrats attempted to view independence rationally. To them it was not an end in itself, "but merely a stage following which the work and struggle continued on the basis of new instruments, new weapons, with the individual no longer fighting for freedom alone but pursuing chiefly the goal of broadening the scope of national life, multiplying the material and intellectual achievements of the nation, gaining for the social community to which he belongs the highest possible standing among nations" ("Mysli nowoczesnego polaka" [Thoughts of a Modern Pole]. Hence, independence, while greatly needed, does not automatically solve all problems. It promotes the nation's development but does not guarantee it. On the other hand, the National Democrats believed, even a nation deprived of statehood and formally not sovereign may become a political subject and lay the foundations of its inner sovereignty while enslaved. If this is to be possible, the views of a definite majority of the society on the fundamental questions of national existence have to be the same and a hierarchy of moral, political and cultural authorities and elites independent of the state but acknowledged by the society has to arise.

### Polish Politics

The founders of the National Democratic orientation, Dmowski, Poplawski and Balicki, are very often termed nationalists. If nationalism is to be construed as championing the role of the national community, acknowledging the primacy of the nation over other forms of social organization or, lastly, accepting the premise that the individual in the life of the society must give paramount consideration to the good of his own nation, the validity of this definition is irrefutable. If, however, nationalism is to mean megalomania, ascribing exceptional qualities to one's own nation and proclaiming its superiority over other nations, then it must be stated that the founders of the National Democratic movement were not nationalists. A sober view of their own nation and its possibilities lay at the base of their political thought developed at the turn of the century. Dmowski in particular excelled at unceremoniously branding national deficiencies and defects, the inability to face reality. In his "Thoughts of a Modern Pole" he declared: "Attachment to the nation should not weaken a man's mind and ability for criticism; it should not blind his judgment of what is closest to him. As for the propagation among the nation of pleasant illusions about its own value, it is all the more harmful the farther it is from truth."

The National Democrats believed that the recovery of independence by Poland would result from two factors: a conscious development of the nation's forces and a favorable international situation which Polish politics could influence to some extent. Independence was expected not to result from a single upheaval but represent the crowning of successive stages of a historical process. That was the concept of "active politics," in which the nation would be a political subject despite the lack of its own statehood. This concept presupposed the politicization of the broadest circles of the society, and primarily of the popular masses, as well as the organization of an entire network of diverse national institutions and organizations.

In the Partition Era the attainment of national aims required the activity of not only the elites but the broadest possible circles of the society. Even now there are publicists who blame the lowering of political culture and brutalization of political disputes on the mass political movements that had arisen toward the end of the 19th century, and primarily on the Endecja. Yet, it could not have been otherwise. This was the price that had to be paid in order for the Polish question to cease to be an issue to thousands and become an issue to millions. In a situation in which independence was lacking, active politics of the nation required exploiting every possible form of activity. A nation deprived of its freedom had not only the right but also the duty of violating the laws imposed on it by an alien government, but it also could avail itself of the structures of the alien state insofar as they could be exploited for the country's good.

The National Democrats recommended above all exploiting legal means and leaving in the underground only what could not survive "above ground." When, however, there is no possibility for legal nation-promoting work, illegal work is the only means left. Such was the situation in the [Congress] Kingdom era [and] until the Revolution of 1905.

#### Maximalism of Aims and Realism of Means

A principle of the Endecja's independence policy was combining maximalist goals with realism in assessing the status of the Polish question and selecting methods. Realism commanded adopting the assumption that the resources of the Polish nation itself would not suffice to regain independence. Also needed is a favorable international situation. It is the duty of Polish politicians to watch astutely the international arena, predict the course of events on that arena and, insofar as possible, influence them so as to promote Polish interests. Dmowski's books, "Niemcy, Rosja i kwestia polska" [Germany, Russia and the Polish Question] and "Polityka polska i odbudowanie panstwa" [Polish Politics and the Reconstruction of Statehood] may serve as handbooks of political analysis. They contain the following important assumptions:

- 1) Our attitude toward other states and nations, including those that had injured us greatly, cannot be based on resentments and emotions but should be evolved on the basis of rational premises. We should behave not like mutinous slaves but like a nation conscious of its value and strength.
- 2) The dynamics of our actions must allow for the pace of the processes and events occurring around Poland, or more broadly, for the alignment of the world forces.

The National Democratic concept of active politics fundamentally conflicted with, on the one hand, the policy of the collaborators and, on the other, the policy of the insurgents. The Endecja accused the collaborators of capitulationism and drew attention to the ineffectiveness of their policy. For while they rejected independence, the conciliators did not become in return partners of the partitioning powers in achieving a political compromise, and



neither did they win any major concessions for Polishness. In "Thoughts of a Modern Pole" Dmowski formulated the view that "...the slogan 'Don't Vex Enemies' is the slogan of a nation desirous of securing for itself a tranquil vegetation rather than real life, because, by the nature of things, any manifestation of our life, of our vital energy, is bound to vex these enemies most strongly. After all, following a program for providing no grounds for persecution does not mean having to provide enemies with arguments, and following a rule of conduct designed to gain the confidence of alien governments and living in peace with them would mean that no nation-promoting work could be carried out." The articles in PRZEGLAD WIELOPOLSKI also repeatedly drew attention to the fact that programs for collaboration are formulated by individuals whose group and personal interests are bound to the existing political and social order, and that they find support among the least valuable, opportunistic segment of the society. The National Democrats were likewise resolutely opposed to the strategy of the insurgents which presupposed that the sole path to independence was the path of armed combat, particularly that of a violent uprising. They criticized it on the basis of past experience, and especially the experience of the 19th century national uprisings, which they regarded as armed protests rather than as a struggle to reconstruct Polish statehood. They accused the leaders of the insurgents of failing to consider the situation abroad and commencing armed action under unfavorable political circumstances. Above all, they assessed very critically the consequences of the uprisings: the decline in the physical and moral strength of the nation and the systematic deterioration of the status of the Polish question. In his first important brochure, "Nasz patriotyzm" [Our Patriotism] (1893) Dmowski declared: "...The insurgency program causes great harm by orienting people toward a struggle in the distant future and prompting them to await the hour when it comes, whereas that struggle should be waged now. So many people are waiting for a revolution in the future instead of accomplishing an incessant revolution at present."

This view did not, of course, mean a definite abandonment of armed struggle for independence. It merely reflected opposition to absolutizing this method as the sole path of recovering independence.

The founders of the National Democratic orientation were likewise definitely opposed to "holiday patriotism" which cherishes verbal gestures and declarations in lieu of politics.

This was mentioned by Ludwik Poplawski in his article, "Our Patriotism and Our Tactics" (1899): "...The aspiration toward political independence does not consist in continuously proclaiming that slogan, repeating it at every turn and sometimes without a reason. To us this aspiration is such a logical and necessary outcome of our interpretation of patriotism that we simply view as strange the demand for declaring or even emphasizing the postulate of a truly national politics, and the more so the justification and explanation of that postulate. This demand may sound not only strange but even suspect, for it suggests that those demanding that we should continually proclaim the slogan of independence to them desire to listen to these words in order to deaden with their sound the terrible doubt unwittingly arising in their souls; they want to be convinced, to be persuaded what they want to believe. Or perhaps



their political notions are so primitive that they ascribe thaumaturgic, magic qualities to certain words."

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It is not my aim to present the complete ideology and political thought of the Endecja here.[-----] [Decree of 31 July 1981, On the Control of Publications and Entertainment, Article 2, Point 1 (DZIENNIK USTAW, No 20, Item 99; revised in DZIENNIK USTAW, No 44, Item 204, 1983)]. I have deliberately overlooked the questions that usually are raised when preparing the bill of indictment against the Endecja: the problem of national egotism; the attitude toward the national minorities, particularly the Jewish minority; and the anti-Parliamentary concepts of the 1930's, particularly that of the "national revolution." I have done so not in order to present a cosmetic picture of the Endecja but because these problems were linked to a past that is gone forever. They require not making judgments but a historical analysis. Such an analysis will not justify what does not deserve justification, but it may provide an explanation of the historical background. No one expects us to draw uncritically on the achievements of the past. That would be absurd. What then has remained [of this legacy, that is worthwhile]?

A great deal, I believe, in terms of ideas. A majority of Poles view the nation and the state in categories developed by the National Democratic camp, without besides being aware of it. This has been decided by history, and particularly by the fact that Poland has become a mononational country. However, a fundamental role in this has been played by the postwar educational activities of the Catholic Church.

The Church was and is championing the linkage of religious to national values and affirming the particular role of the national community by pointing to its spiritual and religious dimension and purging it of all the barnacles and relics of political Darwinism.

The Church appreciates the importance of the state but draws attention to its role as the servant of the national community. In particular, the teachings about the nation preached by the Rev Primate Stefan Wyszyński and the Holy Father John Paul II should represent the basis of contemporary Polish patriotism. It should be borne in mind, however, that in order to have acquired this profound Christian and humanist nature, they had to be substructured arduously on the foundation bequeathed by the previous generations. I am convinced that the founders of the National Democratic orientation made a substantial contribution to this process.

But the mode of political thinking represented by the National Democratic movement is a different issue. The ability to combine maximalist aims with realistic means is still rarely encountered in Poland. Our nation-promoting activities are too often fragmentary rather than systematic work, protests rather than a consistent policy. Our analyses of the international situation and of Poland's position in the world are generally superficial and confuse wishful thinking with reality. In these matters much still can be learned from the turn-of-the-century National Democratic politicians.

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Respect for tradition and awareness of the historical continuity are extremely important matters to the nation. In the domain of thoughts and ideas our predecessors, including the National Democrats as well, bequeathed us a great deal. It is no accident that a tablet commemorating the contributions of the leader of their camp, Roman Dmowski, hangs in the Cathedral of St John in Warsaw.

But we should define ourselves primarily with respect to the values and problems of the present and the future. It is above all on this basis that we should unite or, when necessary, dissent. Assessments of the historical contributions and faults of political movements cannot play this role.

#### Historical Interpretation Challenged

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 50, 15 Dec 84 p 14

[Article by Jerzy Tomaszewski: "He Who Thinks of Himself Loses the World From Sight" under the rubric "Polemics"]

[Text] Aleksander Hall ("What is the Legacy?" PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI No 20, 1984) is right in stating that the tradition of the National Democratic movement is "in the main, assessed superficially and tendentiously."

The history of that political orientation doubtless deserves a thorough analysis, which has besides been undertaken by certain historians (e.g., Prof Roman Wapinski). But it is not the fate of the Endecja alone to suffer from the superficiality of knowledge and judgments about it; in the public awareness probably all the past political ideologies and movements are known very inaccurately and hence their assessments, too, become simplified and tendentious. This concerns equally the concepts of Roman Dmowski and those of Jan III Sobieski, Aleksander Wielopolski, Julian Bonawentura, Marchlewski and many others. Only a group of experts researching sources over many years can competently assess the actual nature of these ideologies and programs and the value of the traditions they bequeathed. The National Democratic movement is not an exception in this respect.

[Inset]

Speaking on behalf of all is very amusing, because it emboldens the speaker to express judgments which he would be ashamed or hesitate to present as his own opinions.

I admit that Mr Hall is right in drawing attention to the need to resume serious discussion of the ideological legacy of the National Democrats and stresses that a great deal of that legacy has survived in the awareness of the Polish society. To be sure, I am not convinced that "A majority of Poles view the nation and the state in categories developed by the National Democratic camp." This is daring thesis but it is unverifiable, just as judgments opposed to it are unverifiable. But should we rejoice over the permanence of the

ideology of the National Democrats, even if the dispute over whether a "majority" or a "minority" is overlooked?

Mr Hall, it appears, is content to think so. At the same time he draws attention to the historical--in importance, but topical under the particular circumstances of the past--nature of many of the views of R. Dmowski and other leaders of that camp, and to the lack of topicality with respect to many problems which should nowadays be considered only by history lovers. In his opinion, the mode of political thinking employed by the National Democrats is of a lasting value, as is their linkage of religious (i.e., Roman Catholic) values to national values.

[Inset]

He who follows an idea does not need a conscience.

On this issue there is no agreement. For I believe that the author performed an unjustified amputation of an important domain of the concepts of the National Democrats and at the same time indulged in an incorrect interpretation of an immeasurably important field of Polish history and contemporaneity.

Mr Hall claims that "the National Democrats were consistent spokesmen for a [mono-]national state," and that while, to be sure, the decisions subsequent to World War II made of this concept no longer a topical issue, "the principle of the Endecja's thinking of the relationship between the state and the nation has not lost its validity. The state should be an emanation of the nation, a reflector of its aspirations." I shall omit his subsequent reasoning, which deals with somewhat different problems and, in my opinion, combines some astute observations with others that are unacceptable. It is precisely that idea of the relationship between the state and the nation that accounts for the views of the National Democratic camp on the national minorities and other issues--views which compromise that camp but which Mr Hall overlooks on the grounds that they belong to the past. This is an impermissible maneuver. Not so much because "Ye shall know them by their fruits" (although that too is an important yardstick of any political concept) as because a complex whole of interrelated political views should not be treated like a head of cabbage and shredded in order to pick out the more digestible bits.

[Inset]

If a man thinks badly of another faith, let it be so  
but he should not consider the adherents of that faith  
to be necessarily disgusting, unworthy and misfits.

No reasonable person--thus also including Mr Hall--nowadays would accept such aspects of R. Dmowski's views as anti-Semitism and other phobias. But the author does not seem to understand that these phobias were a logical consequence of the Endecja's interpretation of the state, and that all this was linked to the concept of "national egotism." "The state should be an emanation of the nation"--and hence, in the Polish Republic, an emanation of

the Polish nation. Let us translate it into the language of quotidian political and administrative practice: it is the Poles who rule in this state, while all others should stay away! In a more civilized form: we allow the minorities to live and we neither beat them up nor expel them nor shoot them, but they may not interfere in public affairs. In a barbarian form: President Gabriel Narutowicz dies by the hand of an assassin (because the votes of Belorussians, Germans, Ukrainians and Jews were decisive to his election....).

[Inset]

That politics which is based on sowing mistrust is politics of the jungle. A cat that mistrusts a man perceives in him a wild beast rather than man; a man who mistrusts another also perceives in him a wild beast.

Of course, these events belong to the past. Of course, not every National Democrat beat up Jews or even accepted the idea of beating them up. Of course, only certain Polish milieux (at any rate, not the majority of the nation) supported the National Democrats, and many prominent Poles combatted their idea of "national egotism." But this should not lead to disregarding the important consequences of the Endecja's view of the state.

These questions are not purely historical. For I would not want to interpret Mr Hall's statement that "Poland has ceased to be a multinational state" as tantamount to the thesis that there are no national minorities in the Polish People's Republic. I have already written too much on this subject to confine myself to a reminder. To be sure, nowadays the national minorities in Poland number barely several hundred thousand people--which is not a low figure considering that there exist countries with a smaller population than that--but they do exist and, under the Constitution, they have the same rights as all the other citizens. Thus if the thesis "The state must be an emanation of the nation," meaning the Polish nation, is to be considered literally, this signifies a postulate for amending a Constitutional provision that has been unchanged since November 1918 and is mandatory in all the successive basic decrees. Let us return to the theoretical justification of civic inequality which the National Democrats had in the past attempted to impose on the nation--an attempt in which fortunately they failed.

To be sure, I suppose that Mr Hall does not intend to deprive of their civil rights Belorussians, Ukrainians, Gypsies and the representatives of other minorities, and indeed he does not advocate this in theory, legislation or practice. But he should realize the consequences of his position.

These questions are not purely abstract. For a concept presented in a civilized form acceptable to a civilized man can take on a new guise. Not so long ago a certain citizen of the Polish People's Republic, a Belorussian writer who has also contributed to Polish culture, upon having an article of his published, received an anonymous letter some of whose more pertinent passages are worth quoting (upon correcting their grammar): "...What is the game? What is the point? Do you want thereby to persuade the Belorussian minority to 'klikat'" (talk) Belorussian in public places? Where are these

people living? On what soil, and whose bread are they eating if not Polish?.... We genuine Poles are aware of and know well what is concerned. We feel no hatred toward any nationality, but please remember that Poland is for Poles."

I too have received letters of a similar kind following some of the articles I had written about the minorities. Recently an anonymous letter postmarked from Biala suggested that I hang myself....

Of course, discussion against such "arguments" is impossible, whether they are of an anonymous or public nature. Irrespective of his own intentions, though, Mr Hall provides a theoretical justification for postulates such as "Poland for Poles," "Only Polish can be spoken in public places," and the like. It can be observed, to be sure, that such antics of "real" or "genuine" Poles--and is not the use of these adjectives in anonymous letters written by hooligans insulting to our nation?--are purely marginal to political life and, as such, known also in other countries. Experience teaches me that other views prevail among persons reacting to articles on national minorities. What is more, that "margin" appears to decline with years; in other words, primitive reactions, hostile to anything that is different, appear to be on the wane. But this does not alter the fact that the theoretical concepts defended by Mr Hall lead to consequences injurious to the rights and dignity of several hundred thousand citizens of our country. I am likewise convinced that they conflict with the interests of the Polish nation.

[Inset]

A man does not live in his state; he lives only in his countryside or in his native country; this is enhanced by every regional distinction. But while regionalism denotes fullness of life, the state denotes greatness: one's native land is loved, while one's state is served.

The next problem concerns the relationship of religion to national feelings. I can understand it when a Catholic writer gives credit to the National Democrats and states that: "The turn toward religion and the Church that took place among the rising generation of the Polish intelligentsia during the Second Republic was to a very large extent a consequence of the ideological-upbringing work of the National Democratic camp." I will omit considering whether such a turn did indeed take place and eventually what was its real significance. For the following problem is more important:

In 1924, after the so-called language decrees were voted, the Rev J. Urban commented as follows in PRZEGLAD POWSZECHNY: "To those who champion neither the theories of national egotism nor the omnipotence of the state nor force as the source of law it is clear that the satisfaction of certain demands of alien nationality groups is neither merely a sad necessity nor charity but the moral obligation of the state. Such rights as the right to cherish one's own language, culture and customs are older than any rights granted by the state, for they derive from a natural law to which a positive state law should attempt to adapt itself as closely as possible." I am citing this passage with



a feeling of gratification that is all the greater considering that such views did not always surface in the Catholic press of interwar Poland. As I understand the changes in Polish Catholic milieu after World War II, the overcoming of certain concepts of the nation and of relations among various ethnic groups inherited from the National Democrats, as well as a new view of persons of other faiths, have been of particularly portentous significance. This meant undertaking a huge and difficult effort to cross barriers that divide people.

At one time a completely different approach predominated among Catholic publicists, an approach that in its time rendered impossible any exchange of views whatsoever. A careful reading of the interwar [Catholic periodical] RYCZERZ NIEPOKALANEJ and even of PRZEGLAD POWSZECHNY, which was designed for readers with some educational background, is recommended. How charged with contempt and sometimes even hate they are! Contrary to fairly often encountered opinions, the sharpest attacks were directed not against persons of the Jewish faith; it was perhaps the Mariawites [members of a Polish sect, a kind of Polish national church] who were the recipients of the choicest epithets. How much venom against Protestants was contained in these periodicals! The Rev J. Rostworowski, e.g., commented in 1925 that the decision to open a Department of Evangelical Theology at Warsaw University "insults to a great extent not only the feelings but also the rights of the country's enlightened Catholic community. For a society as eminently Catholic as ours has the right to object to equating a religion considered by an overwhelming majority of citizens as the sole true religion... to a creed which the sacred faith declares to be a false and flawed interpretation of Christianity."

I am not quoting this passage out of malice (for I could have quoted much more drastic comments) but for the sake of a reminder of how greatly has the attitude of the Polish Catholic intellectual circles toward adherents of other faiths or, more broadly, persons of differing world outlook, changed nowadays. But after all, this is not a continuation of the way of thinking proper to the National Democrats, which identifies Polishness with Catholicism. This relates to other tendencies of Polish (and not only Polish) Catholicism, which combine profound religiosity with respect for other attitudes. Only under such conditions can religion cease to divide the Polish nation and magnify conflicts with other nations. For although it is true that a majority of our society was--and is--linked by tradition and faith to the Roman Catholic Church, there also exist territories in which the Polish national awareness rested on Protestantism. And besides, were the Polish Protestants in Lodz, Warsaw and dozens of other cities any worse? I consider an onesided identification of Polishness with Catholicism, or with any other creed, to be too dangerous to that very Polishness.

[Inset]

No one is more free and at the same time more hampered than an inquiring spirit seeking the right path. Everyone cognizes with his own mind, but the truth which he desires to discover is of

a universal value. What is of value solely to one wing, one faith and one nation is not that truth which is the ultimate goal of human spirit.

I believe that Mr Hall shares one intention with me. Namely, we both desire to preserve the lasting values bequeathed by the past generation of the Polish society. Mr Hall perceives these values as lying in giving priority to a rather narrowly and, above all, shortsightedly conceived national interest. Unlike he, I believe that an open attitude is in our national interest, open to: respect for fellow citizens of other faiths or nationalities, safeguarding their genuinely equal rights not only in theory but also in practice, and acknowledging the contribution of every constituency to our joint accomplishments, which should be accompanied by a critical appraisal of what used to divide us in the past and the elimination of what may divide us at present. Discussion of contemporary problems can be undertaken only after the specters of history cease to emerge from the shadows.

Besides this concerns not only attitude toward one's fellow citizens but also toward other societies, particularly our neighboring ones. That is why I availed myself of the opinions of Karel Capek as the title of this polemic as well as in the insets.

[Inset]

Might not the standing of small national organisms in the competition on the world's fair be best safeguarded by an exceptional quality of the products of their workshops and stores? It need not be much, but all that they have to offer should be faultlessly executed.

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CSO: 2600/457

POLAND

## HIGHER EDUCATION FACES DECLINING INTEREST IN MARXISM

Warsaw PERSPEKTYWY in Polish No 50, 14 Dec 84 p 5

[Interview with Dr Wlodzimierz Lebiedzinski, educator at Gdansk University, participant at the Nationwide Conference on Social Sciences, by Malgorzata Kakiel; date and place not specified]

[Text] The party operates in the present but molds the future. This maxim could be adopted as the motto for the Nationwide Conference on Social Sciences, which was attended by several hundred scholars.

The objective and final disposition of the discussion, which had been programmed and realized some time ago and a main portion of which was devoted to an evaluation of synthesized reports abounding in more generalized reflections and creative ideas, was a program proposal for the promotion of Marxist teachings in Poland designed to last for the remainder of this century. It is an enormous and important undertaking, but a program of this kind is necessary if theoretical research regarding socialist development within the prevailing political situation and atmosphere in Poland and regarding the conditions and attitude changes among the Poles are to promote more favorably than it has been in the past the harmonious development of our country.

The social sciences, as was emphasized during the deliberations, have always been an important area of ideological struggle. This is particularly evident today when the class struggle in each individual country is interwoven into the worldwide picture, which again in turn has an effect on the situation in each individual country. We are experiencing this in Poland at the present time, where the political crisis has acquired a very sensitive character precisely because it ran its course during a time of unusually severe global unrest.

Poland's higher schools are at present important arenas of ideological confrontation. In some of the institutions a peculiar pluralistic outlook on life still prevails. "We do not demand a monopoly," stated Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarczyk in the deliberation while discussing the situation at higher schools, "but rather an essential dominance of our outlook on life, its philosophical, ideological and also methodological foundations." We spoke with Dr Włodzimierz Lebiec, an educator at the University of Gdańsk, on the subject of Marxism's place in institutes of higher education.

[Question] In a resolution of the 13th Plenum it was determined that "... social science has become the field of a vigorous political battle." How is the power positioned on that field today?

[Answer] The political battle is being waged on our domestic front as well as abroad in the international arena. Poland arouses the special interest of the West, from where the bourgeois, trotskyite, social-democratic, anarchosyndicalistic and eurocommunist ideas emanate. Obviously, anticommunist philosophies, preached by our native theoreticians who have defected, find devotees. Meanwhile, within the country we have, as is well known, a multifaceted, pluralistic economy consisting of a variety of social forces such as workers, peasants, small property owners and neobourgeoisie. The lack of unanimity in economic and noneconomic affairs is the reason for differing opinions leading to the introduction of numerous theories and pseudo-theories which hinder Marxist ideology. As a result, Marxist forces are weakened. Following the upheaval which we have recently lived through, the cadre of Marxist theoreticians has shrunk noticeably. A number of them have changed their convictions, while others have quit the party. Among the ones professing allegiance to Marxism there is no unity. I would like to bring attention to the fact that too often we evaluate theoretical opinions in the light of party affiliation. If you are a member of the PZPR then you are a Marxist. This is dangerous mythological reasoning, since identifying political principles with theoretical ones can lead to a false judgment of one's strength.

[Question] You mentioned the posture some scholars took following August 1980, due to which in this period the social sciences community did not oppose anticommunist tendencies and feebly defended Marxist methodological principles.

[Answer] This problem is complex. In the post-war period, when Poland started building socialism, we did not have many Marxist cadres. Instead, under-currents of opposition were active. The Lwów-Warsaw school, for instance, had much influence. Neo-Thomistic and phenomenological philosophies were practiced. The situation was becoming dangerous since appropriate changes in awareness did not follow at the superstructure. So, hurried propagation of Marxism began in earnest, but unfortunately the kind that was shallow and most often dogmatic. This brought on a situation where the new Marxist cadres most often knew theory from the standpoint of propaganda.

[Question] In 1956 did disenchantment with this superficially learned Marxism appear?

[Answer] Yes. At that time the first crisis within the Marxist group took place. The reasoning was as follows: since Marxism does not provide solutions for complex problems then we have to reach out for the theories of the West. The elements of these theories were implanted into Marxist ideas. Therefore, from 1956 on we were exposed to the subversion of Marxist consciousness by a wave of revisionism. The year 1968 was the year of its highest point. Corrective political efforts followed in the footsteps of revisionist thought. In the 1970's, after a period of indecision, there followed the proposition of national moral and political unity. Central authorities did not want to invoke distressful policies. The experiences of 1980 found the Marxist theories faltering. The party did not adhere to a principled policy with regard to the Marxist cadre of scholars. The party did not do so even at a later date. The new law of 1982 on higher education put the school administrative structure under the control of either neutral non-Marxists or even at times anticommunists. There aren't too many Marxists in these positions who wish to admit to their convictions openly, fearful of the risk involved. This mainly is true of the younger persons, on whom the faculty council may not bestow doctorates and in this manner hinder their careers.

[Question] What can be said about the youth, their knowledge of Marxist philosophy?

[Answer] Let's be more specific. At the institutions of higher education hardly any Marxist philosophy courses can be found and at the present time there are no lectures covering dialectical materialism. In most cases the programs shift from the history of philosophy to modern directions which go beyond Marxism. In other words, the decision to offer at least a small program of Marxist philosophy is unceremoniously left up to the party responsible for the curriculum planning.

[Question] I am aware that you have conducted such courses.

[Answer] I was conducting lessons on this subject at the time the University of Gdansk was being shaken by strikes, when a group from the Independent Association of Students demanded an order that the dean's and rector's offices deny me the privilege of teaching the subject. In spite of this I had many students at that time and still have today. It all depends on the methods you use in teaching Marxism.

[Question] Is there then the possibility of designing an educational system for high schools and universities which would present Marxism-Leninism as a theoretical system and at the same time a research method?

[Answer] We have to come up with such a system. Please consider how paradoxical is the situation that we are dealing with. Marxist philosophy is being taught to students at the Catholic University of Lublin, an at



Western colleges, including those in the United States. The popularity of Marxism is growing, while in the lay educational institutions of our country "conditions are not right for its teaching." After all, in 10 or 15 years today's young people will take over key positions in our country and begin teaching others. Can we be certain that at that time they will take it upon themselves to promote prosocialist activities?

[Question] At the time you participated in the party's Nationwide Social Sciences Conference were you also a member of the conference planning committee? What procedures did you follow in the preparatory phase?

[Answer] The conference planning committee called upon the Politburo of the Central Committee, which appointed more than 40 people. We were divided into six groups. I was in the team preparing the self-evaluation of the state of social sciences. The main purpose of the conference was to determine the most essential assignments facing the social sciences. The subjects under consideration were: political science, economics, philosophy, law, history, and education, including the political integration of the Marxist community. The conference planning committee later restructured itself into a proposal committee, which processed the suggestions made at the conference and submitted them to the Politburo of the Central Committee for action.

[Question] For some years now, the authorities have shown a growing interest in the social sciences. It was deliberated at the Third Congress of the PZPR in 1956, at the Third Plenum of the Central Committee in 1963 and at the Nationwide Social Sciences Conference in 1973. What is the reason for their poor standing in the ratings?

[Answer] Many reasons can be found, but the one that can be considered the most plausible is the fact that the Marxist-Leninist method of reasoning and dialectical methodology presented a danger to the group of pragmatists and technocrats who were influential in decisionmaking. Marxism is a theory of criticism, it was an outgrowth of criticism of the bourgeoisie, but it is also critical of all other realities, including socialist. From the dialectical point of view the structures created by socialism are transitional and imperfect, but a statement to this effect was not to the liking of everyone. Therefore, scholars kept silent, and not in all cases were possible were scientific advances made.

[Question] Let's talk about today. What are the problems requiring the most attention?

[Answer] First of all the contradictions and mechanism of building socialism under our conditions, social contradictions in general, but above all in the working class. The reasons for their existence should be investigated, especially since they at times display an antagonistic character. We should find ways of eliminating them, otherwise the class which is considered to be our bulwark of support in critical conditions most probably will not be of much help. It is necessary to investigate the reason for the increase of antagonistic differences between the working class and the resurgent bourgeois class. Up to this time investigations of this kind have not been attempted, or else they are being made rather enigmatically.

POLAND

# CATHOLIC PHILOSOPHICAL DISCUSSION ELUCIDATES CAUSES OF WAR

Warsaw PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI in Polish No 20, 4 Nov 84 pp 1,4

[Article by Fr Henryk Witczyk: "Truth Is the Condition of Peace"]

[Text] The thesis of John Paul II: "Truth Is the Condition of Peace," constituted the topic of the international symposium organized by the "Justitia et Pax" Commission of the Polish Episcopate. The symposium took place on 3-4 October 1984 in Kielce. The deliberations were chaired by Bishop Stanislaw Szymecki, who recently has been chairing the Polish "Justitia et Pax" Commission. Many activists of the movement on behalf of justice and peace participated in the symposium including representatives of national "Justitia et Pax" commissions from England (M. Couve de Murville), from Ireland (J. Connolly), from France (A. Fauchet, P. Toulat, G. Marc, and R. V. alette), from Belgium (E. Palys and J. Gondry), from the Netherlands (V. Scheffers and R. Van der Meer) and from the FRG (H.T. Risse).

The symposium had an open character. The basic theme was delineated by the reports: "Truth as a Condition of Peace in the Teaching of John Paul II" (Father Prof Helmut Juros), "Peace as the Basic Social Value" (Father Prof Wladyslaw Piwowarski), "War as the Result of the Pathology of Power--A Historian's Reflections" (Prof Stanislaw Stomma), "Ideological Justification for Violence" (Father Prof Jozef Tischner), "Aggression--Its Psychological Image and Social Results" (Dr Elzbieta Sujak), and "Education Toward Truth Is an Education Toward Peace" (Editor Jozefa Hannelowa). In introductory remarks, Bishop Stanislaw Szymecki, in referring to the topic of the symposium "Truth is the Condition of Peace," said that the tragedy of humanity "began with the lie 'You will be as gods.'" He also said that "the symposium does not set any political goals for itself, but wants to be of educational importance, because only truth rooted in man's heart can bring the fruit of peace."

The role of truth in the building of peace was the subject of the ethical reflection by Father Prof Helmut Juros. Truth belongs to the nature of a man who wants peace. Between truth and peace, by the nature of things, there is a bond. Truth is the basis of peace, which constitutes the basic experience of the whole of humanity. Truth shows and compels us to choose that which is good. One can say then that a man of truth is a man of peace, because he puts

real good into action. According to the same experience, the lie is the basis of war. In the contemporary world it is like a seed of struggle. A particular variety of a lie which brings this struggle about is the manipulation of information, which means the concealment of much important information and the dissemination of information of little significance. This leads to the unhealthy situation of "informational poisoning," in which a person cannot choose the real good and in this way strive toward peace.

From the point of view of Catholic social science, in the building of peace it is important to define and formulate the values and principles according to which the life of societies must be organized so that it would go on in the climate free of struggle. This problem was taken up by Prof Wladyslaw Piwowarski of the KUL [Catholic University of Lublin]. What peace do contemporary societies need? Certainly not the one which is the fruit of wars and revolutions, and thus is built on the strength of victors, assuring them an advantageous division of goods. Strength cannot be the guarantee of a true peace. After all, peace is the building of an order in the world, according to the principle of the common good of the whole human family and particular nations. The principle of personal good, namely the good of each man, plays an equally important role in the creation of this order. Peace can only then be permanent when common, jointly acquired good will serves all. Such an order is the order of solidarity.

War as the result of the pathology of power appeared in the pronouncement of Prof Stanislaw Stomma. He tried to show the great complexity of this problem by making a historical analysis of various systems of the exercise of power. It is difficult to define the ideal model of power for all historical epochs from which deviations would constitute pathology. The closest to the ideal appears to be the type of power based on the principle of natural law, of which the important features are: concern for the common good, the existence of the structures of the control of power, and the guaranteeing for citizens the access to power by way of democratic elections. Thus proper power is power that is democratic in the maximum. Although the fact of the existence of a dictatorship in a given country is not necessarily a cause of an external war, and although it is possible for a country governed democratically to become outwardly aggressive, nevertheless democratic power certainly steers more toward internal and external peace. It is an interesting fact, stated Prof Stomma, that among UN members, only in 22 countries there is a model democracy, in 10 the level of democracy is insufficient, and in 127 (namely, about 80 percent), it is absolutely insufficient (dictatorships, situations of turmoil, revolutions). The main cause of this phenomenon is the civilization-al backwardness of the majority of those countries and the lack of democratic culture, i.e., the ability to organize democratic structures and mechanisms in social life.

During the deliberations, the problem of violence, understood as the threat and violation of peace in the world and of particular countries, was also discussed.

An interesting attempt to show the truth of violence, from the point of view of the philosophy of history, was the lecture of Father Prof Jozef Tischner from Krakow. His pronouncement constituted the basis for a discussion on the subject: "What is the hope of contemporary Poland and the world?" "What is the motor of history?"

The basic run of the lecture of Father Prof Jozef Tischner focused around the problem of violence, which kills and threatens the loss of life. The acts of violence, in the form of wars, accompany the history of man from its dawn, (----) [Law of 31 July 1981 on the control of publications and shows, article 2 point 1, 3 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, item 99, amended 1983 DZIENNIK USTAW No 44, item 204)]. The revolution claims that new freedom is the issue. Freedom in the old understanding is based on the private possession of goods, the new one--on the collective possession. The private possession of goods limits the range of the possession of freedom: "as much freedom as possession."

Individual proprietors are not numerous. The people are in poverty, thus they are deprived of freedom. The system of property must be changed. In order for the people to regain freedom, it ought to regain property. To this purpose, according to the ideologists of the revolution, the people must use violence. The violence of the revolution is only an apparent violence, because it is violence used against violence. (----) [Law of 31 July 1981 on the control of publications and shows, article 2, point 1, 2, 3 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, item 99, amended 1983, DZIENNIK USTAW No 44, item 204)].

A condition of peace is also truth, which concerns human behavior and attitudes. From the point of view of psychology, the important matter for peace is the calming down of aggressive human reactions. Dr Elzbieta Sujak spoke about this. Man's aggressiveness results from a lack of possibilities for satisfying some important, emotionally experienced needs. This awakens a subsequent reaction--anger, and reveals itself in the acts of aggression. This human aggressiveness, or more precisely, human helplessness in dealing with one's own or someone else's aggression, expands according to various patterns. Here are the major ones:

- the negation of one's aggressiveness leads to the searching for its sources outside oneself and builds the illusion (lie) of personal gentleness;
- the transfer of aggressive reactions to other situations and persons;
- a fear of the revelation of one's aggressiveness, and strong suppression of it, can become a source of autoaggression, which can be expressed even by a suicide. It is worth knowing here that in Poland among the causes of deaths of youth, trauma and accidental injuries occupy the first place, suicides--the second, and all illnesses together, only the third!

In order for social life not to assume the forms of mutual aggression, a new man must be educated.

A full development of the human person is achieved not only through the knowledge of truth about one's self (the mechanisms of one's own psyche), but

also through contacts with the culture, tradition, and history of one's own nation and the world. Only truth can be the product of the authentic culture and man. Such a view on truth as a living heritage of culture was presented in the report of Mrs Jozefa Hennelowa of the editorial board of TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY.

"In the dimension of truth as a substance of peace" one must also see the truth "which costs. It costs (...) also because it is a value (...). One reaches such truth very slowly, paying very dearly (...). To educate toward truth is to educate in the final dimension toward attitudes which give evidence of truth. The words 'So that I would give evidence of Truth' are heard on the pages of the Gospel just before Golgotha. The church serving truth is also a church of martyrs." Martyrdom, however, is "a violence suffered, born, and not exerted on anyone. Martyrdom is the highest form of a peaceful answer to violence (...). The risking of oneself (...) testifies to the importance of the value in the name of which the risk is being undertaken. Thus, it is also to give evidence of the dignity of the human person and the laws resulting from it."

The symposium ended with a ceremonial Holy Mass, celebrated under the leadership of Primate Jozef Glemp, in which several thousand faithful participated. The primate, recalling the homily of Monte Cassino, spoke also about the motto written by Saint Benedict on the gate of the monastery: "Pax," which was to be a specific call directed to the world: "Despite the fact that this writing announcing the content of Christian life was so clear, visible and permanent, an extraordinary brutal force destroyed everything there, the monastery, the writing and relics... Nevertheless, life again prevailed and, like before, there is the writing 'Pax' above the gate, because life is peace."

"(----) [Law of 31 July 1981 on the control of publications and shows, article 2, point 1 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, item 99, amended 1983, DZIENNIK USTAW No 44, item 204)]. With the help of God's grace, man can mature to the attitude of truth and love 'which will defeat evil with good.'"

In concluding the symposium, Cardinal Glemp asserted that it was an important event in the building of a mutual dialog and trust between the countries of Eastern and Western Europe. One rejoices at the fact that it could take place in Poland.

12270

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POLAND

# ENVIRONMENT CHIEF ON WATER SHORTAGE, NUCLEAR POWER PLANS

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 28 Dec 84 p 3

[Interview with Professor Stefan Jarzebski, minister-director of the Office of Environmental Protection and Water Economy, by the editorial staff of RZECZPOSPOLITA]

[Text] Our country is not blessed with water. Several dry years have caused a water shortage on the farms (we have had to haul water to over 2,000 rural areas) and in the cities and the provinces. The troubles experienced by residents in Walbrzych, Krosno and since last autumn in Krakow prove that the shortage of drinking water is starting to become a large socioeconomic problem. The problem has been aggravated by the results of years of economic development discordant with environmental interests; waste and water pollution. Are we faced with the risk of a water shortage?

[Answer] The specter of a universal water shortage is certainly not threatening us, but we do have many problems in this area. The problems with water are two-sided. In the dryer years we have a water shortage, but in rainy times or with excessive spring runoff we have an excess of water. This is a result of the lack of water storage during the excesses to supply the water to the cities, villages, and industry during the periods of dryness. The capacity of our water reservoirs is almost 3 billion cubic meters, which means not even 5 percent of the annual outflow from our country to the sea and to a lesser degree abroad. A more positive influence on the hydrologic situation would be a capacity for water storage of 9-12 billion cubic meters.

What is worse is the form of land-use development in the country, which causes considerable disproportion between needs and water resources. Unfortunately, most of the raw materials are in the south of the country. There in the upper course of the rivers are also most of the water-demanding industries. At the same time, these industries are the largest sources of pollution (waste), so it is no wonder that the residents in the south of the country--in Krakow for instance--have begun to feel a shortage of clean drinking water.

[Question] How do we prevent this?

[Answer] We are doing a lot, so the present situation should improve. We have improved our position because in this 5-year period we have completed

10 large and medium-sized water reservoirs. This will ease the water problem in Krakow and other cities in southern Poland. We have an agreement with the chief of the planning commission to start construction of new reservoirs as soon as those under construction now are completed. New reservoirs are planned for the Jelenia Gora Valley, where there already is a water shortage. Sometimes we have reservoirs but cannot use them. An example would be the dry reservoirs earmarked for flood control on the Oder River near Wroclaw. They were built without planning on a site of houses and farm buildings. These reservoirs could be used for agriculture, but in a different way. In their main role--to prevent floods--they are useless. I am afraid to think what will happen and how large the losses will be when high water comes again like that of last year.

[Question] The programs "Vistula" and "Oder" were supposed to accomplish these actions. A few years ago, we became convinced that without these programs we could not properly manage water in our country. We are not implementing these programs. What will happen?

[Answer] We are not implementing the "Vistula" program, but I am not convinced that in its form we can afford to implement it not only in this century but also in the next one. Without a doubt, we have to make best use of the water in our largest river, but this should be a different program, without so much steel and concrete. It can be done much more cheaply. We have our own proposals on this subject, counterproposals to build near the Vistula at least two nuclear heat-and power-generating plants.

[Question] Are you not afraid of protests?

[Answer] No, nuclear plants will be much better for the environment than coal-fired generators. More and more people understand this. In the previous period, there were protests against the reservoir earmarked for the Ciechocinek region. Today we do not have protests, because it is recognized that we have a chance to resolve issues of water shortage and energy.

The siting of a nuclear power plant or nuclear heat-generating plant below Warsaw also will prevent ice jams on the Vistula and will help to prevent winter and spring flooding.

[Question] And water for the villages?

[Answer] The situation still is not very good. There are regions with water shortages on the farms. We have to transport the water. The shortage of water and broken-down equipment do not allow for the proper treatment of the soil even if it were possible.

[Question] We know this, but is there a chance to improve the situation?

[Answer] We have to do everything so that in 1990 we won't have the same situation we do today, whereby we must transport water to almost 2,000 villages.

Estimating expected water consumption in the villages, cities and industry, we can say that the water shortage will continue. It could go from 1.7 billion cubic meters per year at present to 1.9 billion cubic meters next year and to approximately 2.2 billion cubic meters in 1990, even if we finish many reservoirs.

[Question] The prospects are pretty bad. Not everyone uses water rationally. Maybe we should point the finger at the worst wasters of water and use more severe financial punishments?

[Answer] There is still a lot of waste. Recently I was in Jelenia Gora Province. Among the 22 plants using 40,000 cubic meters of water per year, only 6 of them have closed water circuits. It is the same throughout the country.

[Question] And isn't there any way out of the situation?

[Answer] We have limited some plants in their water intake by around 30 percent. But they still get the water they need even within these limits.

The low cost of using water does not encourage saving it. We pay groszy [pennies] for water, the source of life and development in our country. Literally. For 1 cubic meter of water industry pays 27 groszy. But to produce the same quantity of water, the cost is 60-80 zlotys. This is the cost of building the plant, transmission and use of the equipment.

[Question] The obvious solution is to have industry pay more for the water.

[Answer] Not only industry. All of us as residents, too. When we shave the water is running. When we wash the dishes, the same takes place. We throw zlotys down the drain when we waste water. Whoever has seen such a thing abroad? The water is there, but they have to pay a lot of money for the water. Sometimes the water won't run without putting money into the machine first.

[Question] Abroad they pay not only for using the water but also for polluting it. It is no secret that the water shortage in Poland would be less acute if we could limit the pollution. Is this true?

[Answer] I think it is. The condition of our rivers is not that good, but at least it is not worsening. Also, because industry is in a crisis, production is lower and so is the pollution. Moreover, every year we add new installations for cleaning sewage. Small and large. Municipal and industrial. We shall have 163 new installations this year and maybe even 200 next year.

[Question] Is that really that good? Would you drink water from the ministry's faucet? Unboiled?

[Answer] Why not? I'll prove it to you now. This water really is not poisonous. Maybe it doesn't taste good, but that is the fault of the chlorine.

The water certainly does not have any bacteria. I drink it every day at my neighborhood in Wilanow. To your health, sir!

[Question] We are not sure our readers will be convinced. For example, they are saying in Krakow that if the Wawel dragon had to be killed today, we wouldn't have to give him a sheep filled with sulfur. The water in the Vistula would do the trick.

[Answer] This is a little exaggerated, but salt mine water is really dangerous not only for biological life in the river but also for hydrotechnical structures. The pipes corrode more quickly. This problem could be solved by salt dilution of the water, which has two pluses: protection of the Vistula and clean water for Silesia.

The source of the problem--mining--knows the problem, but we do not have in our country efficient and economical technology for cleaning the water. The cleaning method used in Debiensk is still too expensive and energy-intensive. But we are attempting to resolve this essential problem.

[Question] At least these problems are noticed. The slow speed of the resolution is what is disconcerting.

[Answer] A total of 160-200 purification plants during the course of a year is not much with respect to the needs. We have to build approximately 7,000 purification plants. But I don't want to be such a pessimist. A few plants are using bioblocks and biooxyblocks, a resolution of which we can be proud. What is more important is that these installations are small, cheap, and easy to install. They can be used with success in small and medium-sized cases, but they are less successful in heavy industrial and municipal sewage. An additional benefit are the byproducts, like biogas and fertilizer.

Much of this equipment has been installed at or near the seashore or in other areas of the country. I think we have been successful in convincing even those who always have thought that only large water purification plants could save us. And they project a capital investment of 5 or more billion zlotys. Large installations need the approval of the planning commission. For example, Swieradow in Jelenia Gora Province was planned, even though it is in rolling country and the development has spread. How much does it cost to lay kilometers of pipe, pumping stations, and the connection system? Would it not have been cheaper to build a bioblock? On normal underpinning brickwork? How rapidly will the sewage be purified? In a few months and not a few years.

[Question] Similar thinking and activity need an ally. Are you not afraid that an ally will come too late? Hasn't the economic reform eliminated any future allies?

[Answer] I think the economic reform is slow, but it is making some changes in social awareness. It has changed the attitude of people. This is most important.

Every self-dependent and self-financing enterprise should have to think that it will have to pay for water and excessive sewage waste. It is this way in the entire world. The punishment has an economic effect, even leading to bankruptcy.

[Question] Bankruptcy caused by sewage? This has never happened before.

[Answer] Some of the enterprises directly involved still do not believe this. They think they can destroy our environment without being punished. This is one more case whereby we must reorganize our priorities. For example, Zachem in Bydgoszcz still does not believe we must exact payment for punishment. At the end of this year, 9 years will have passed for a period of suspended payments for punishment for not having installed purification equipment. Around 10 percent of the most flagrant violators have been covered by this suspension period.

Nine years is a long time, but not many enterprises have used the suspension period effectively. Now they have to pay. From profits. This is not a small punishment. Thousands and millions of zlotys are at stake.

[Question] ? ? ? ?

[Answer] And even if the enterprises have that kind of money, they will have a difficult time explaining to their employees why they wasted 9 years. The money could have gone to an environmental protection fund.

[Interviewer] And this is the purpose of the reform. We, like Zachem in Bydgoszcz, do not believe that this really will take place, but who knows . . . Thank you for the discussion.

9807

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POLAND

PRESS FOCUSES ON CONTEMPORARY PROBLEMS WITHIN CHURCH

Parish, Church Hierarchy Tension

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 5-6 Jan 85 p 2

[PAP Report: "The Conflict Between the Boleslaw Parish and the Kielce Curia"]

[Text] "By his gray hair, I am begging you not to take our parish priest away from us," cries an agitated woman. This is happening in the village of Boleslaw in Katowice Province, and it has to do with Father Wladyslaw Zachariasz, the parish priest at the Church of St Michael. This dispute has been developing for a long time--a dispute between the Kielce ordinary bishop and the parishioners, who are standing firmly behind the man who has been their pastor for many years. On 4 January, Polish television's program I broadcast a report presenting the record of opinions and commentaries, emotions and human anger. On the last day of 1984, a crowd of upset people is in front of the camera. They are shouting at each other. They are recalling the merits of Father Zachariasz: rebuilding the whole run-down church, restoring the presbytery, and putting the cemetery in order. "He did not get rich, he did not acquire an automobile, and he worked as hard as a miner. But now, in his old age, they have banished him from here. He was a good master and he could not stand to see the scandal. The ones who are here now, the young priests, only want to acquire things. They come poor and they drive away in automobiles. I do not believe in priests and bishops, just in God..."

Increasingly harsher accusations are heard. Not one child wants to go to religious instruction. Being late for religious instruction is punished by being kept with one's arms raised for an hour. "Father Boguslaw was able to say to me 'May you be struck down.'" The parishioners--grownups and children--are showered with vulgar words. "This is a swamp," a man says, while at the same time emphasizing that he is a profound believer and always goes to mass in his full mining uniform.

Over 2,500 believers from Boleslaw are defending "their priest's" admittance to the parish. The bishop's curia sent 60 clerics to the church. Local society is upset and embittered. There has been no reaction from the Kielce curia to their repeated appeals. This is evoking many shocking commentaries. The parishioners are describing the presence of the outside clerics in the church as an "inundation", a "cordon," a "raid."

A representative of the council of parishioners tells about how on 15 November 1984 the Kielce ordinary bishop, with the words "Get out of this house," showed out a delegation that had come from conflict-swept Boleslaw. He also said, "Storm troopers, I know you."

"The secular authorities should help us," the parishioners request. "We do not want conflicts or quarrels; we want to bring our children up in peace and in the faith. Does the bishop have to be the only authority for several thousand parishioners? Where is the church law? In our country we require that the law be observed by the government and by the citizens, everywhere. We are giving the government and the party an (accounting) of irregularities. Is the bishop thus a person who is not subject to such an accounting?" And finally there comes another assertion: "The clergy should start to take people into account at last."

The conflict in Boleslaw is continuing. The parishioners are occupying the presbytery, and the clerics the church.

Polish society makes the greatest effort to heal resentment, soothe divisions, and alleviate the causes of irritation. "Do not let the sun set on your anger"--these words frequently come from the pulpit as a call for understanding others and renouncing quarrels. These words are not being uttered in the Church of St Michael in Boleslaw. The residents of the village are sinking deeper and deeper in disputes and conflicts of conscience. "Who is right," they ask, "a respected pastor, honest and simple, or a church dignitary who does not know about our daily problems?"

#### Attempted Murder by Priest

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 4 Jan 85 p 11

[Article: "Trial of Father E. Kubowicz in Rzeszow"]

[Text] On 3 January, the trial of Father Eugeniusz Kubowicz, the former curate of the Roman Catholic parish in Stopnicy (Nowy Sacz Province), began before the Provincial Court in Rzeszow. The indictment charges him with having attempted to take the life of the minor K. O. on 27 March 1984 in Sedziszow Malopolski (in Rzeszow Province), striking her several times on the head with a hammer and an axe, and then, seeing that the child was alive, trying to cut her throat with two knives. He thereby caused her a broken temporal bone, a cut occipital bone, 15 head wounds from knives and blows, and knife wounds on her neck and the fingers of her left and right hands. He did not succeed in taking the girl's life, however, since he was prevented from doing so by her mother, who arrived at that time.

The indictment was read on the first day of the trial. Father E. Kubowicz admitted the murder attempt and refused to make a statement. In connection with this, the court read the statement he gave in the investigation, which the accused confirmed. Among other things, it turns out from this statement that he decided to take K. O.'s life because he thought that in the future she would encounter difficulties in life and hardships from people who thought she was his daughter. The accused E. Kubowicz was not certain,

however--as it appears from the statement--whether the mistreated girl was really his daughter. The legal parents of the child did not consider him the girl's father and treated E. Kubowicz as a friend of the family.

It appears from the indictment that in the 1960's Father Kubowicz was sentenced to the punishment of deprivation of freedom for belonging to the illegal organization Odwet. After getting out of prison, the accused continued his activity as a priest in various parishes in southern Poland. In November 1980, as a result of depression, he attempted to commit suicide. He was saved and sent for psychiatric treatment in Abramowicy near Lublin. Since that time, Father Kubowicz has no longer performed his functions as a priest, and had received indefinite leave for reasons of health. Upon his arrest, he was examined by psychiatrists who recognized abnormal traits in him that limited his ability to recognize the significance of the act he committed on 27 March 1985.

After confirmation of the evidence given in the investigation, the accused responded to the questions of the court and the representative of the secondary plaintiffs, the public prosecutor, and the counsel for the defense, confirming the charges made against him.

The witnesses, including the victim K.O. and her parents, will be heard tomorrow.

#### Priest Sentenced

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 3 Jan 85 p 5

[PAP Report: "Investigation of Monk's Murderer Completed"]

[Text] As a PAP journalist has learned, after nearly 3 months the investigation in connection with the murder of the monk Edward Gorzkowski has ended. As the earliest communique reports, the murder was committed by Father Wladyslaw Siennicki on 11 October 1984 at the Jesuit monastery on Swietojska Street in Warsaw.

W. Siennicki confirmed the fact of the murder and refused to give further explanations. As it turned out from the hospital record presented by the father superior at the monastery, the suspect has suffered from chronic mental illness.

Expert psychiatrists were called, who established that he had a chronic mental illness (schizophrenia), which caused complete insanity at the time when the crime was committed.

In connection with this, by a decision on 21 December 1984, the proceedings in regard to Wladyslaw Siennicki were suspended. On 31 December 1984, the public prosecutor sent the Provincial Court in Warsaw a proposal that Wladyslaw Siennicki be committed to a secure psychiatric institution. In addition to this, the provincial prosecutor also sent a letter to the church authorities, in which he pointed out that failure to perceive the danger presented by Wladyslaw Siennicki to everyone around him, and the neglect of the obligation resting on the monastery authorities, namely to inform the prosecuting agencies immediately of the murder that had been committed.

9909

CSO: 2600/438

POLAND

## INTERNAL AFFAIRS MINISTRY RATED ON TRAINING, LEGAL SERVICES

### Educational Training

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 13 Dec 84 p 2

[Article: "Personnel Policy in the Ministry Internal Affairs"]

[Text] The Sejm Commission for Internal Affairs and the Administration of Justice in its meeting on 12 December evaluated the recruitment policy of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the system of training the officers in the ministry. These issues appeared on the agenda of the commission because it carries out parliamentary oversight of the ministry's operation.

Recently, a group of members of the Sejm reviewed two training schools of the ministry, the WSO [Higher Officers' School] in Szczytno and the ASW [Academy of Internal Affairs] in Warsaw. The results of the review were presented by Deputy Eugenia Kemparowa (PZPR, Piotrkow Trybunalski).

We have thoroughly acquainted ourselves with the organization of these schools and their training and indoctrination process as well as research, stated the Sejm deputy. The course of study at the WSO lasts 3 years. After the first and second year, students spend 6 weeks in practical training in all basic elements of militia service. During their third year, they take part in graduation practical training. The curriculum envisages 3,800 hours of classes; therefore, it is practically a 4-year college curriculum. Most of the time is scheduled for classes on legal subjects, but one-fifth of the curriculum is dedicated to sociopolitical issues. The students also receive military and defense training and take part in supplementary classes. The curriculum combines theoretical knowledge with its future practical application. The importance attached to social and indoctrination classes is noteworthy. The classrooms have modern equipment and an adequate quantity of study aids. The housing situation should improve, too. At present, first-year cadets reside in the old barracks building, 10 to 12 persons to a room. Besides full-time studies, the school also offers correspondence courses, mainly for officers with a long tenure in service.

The reporting Sejm deputy stated that the theses of the students presented to the members of the Sejm meet a high professional standard. This should be particularly stressed because the school provides education at the level

of first-category college study. The command and instructor cadre of the WSO in Szczytno is the main source of its success. There are many civilians among the faculty of the school, though the school's alumni are in the majority. The school does not divorce itself from the population of the city. The cadets have done much volunteer work for the needs of the inhabitants. Sports and cultural and educational events are organized together with the inhabitants.

The ASW, which was set up in 1972 in the system of schools of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, offers 2-year full-time and correspondence B.A. courses for the graduates of officers' academies. Its graduates receive the B.A. degrees in political science, law and administration. Full-time yearly officers' post-graduate courses are organized. The academy also offers specialized courses for the leading cadres of the ministry. The curriculum schedules many classes on sociopolitical issues. The graduates specialize in a particular field closely associated with their future work. One student in five studies law. The ASW also carries out large-scale R&D activities, coordinating a majority of ministerial research projects.

E. Kempara indicated that the academy carries out instruction and indoctrination activity in very modest conditions. The training facilities are scattered. Full-time courses are offered in the centers in Swider and Piaseczno. Beside the administration of the school, specialized classrooms and the main library are in Warsaw. The Sejm deputy finally stated that the plans for building in Warsaw the training facilities and dormitories for the ASW cannot be implemented at present.

Problems of personnel recruitment in the Ministry of Internal Affairs were the subject of an intense discussion by the Sejm deputies. It was stated that much attention is paid to selecting cadres for the Security Service and militia. Sociopolitical attitudes of the candidates play an important role, along with the psychophysical traits. Care is taken to ensure that future officers primarily come from the working class and peasant community, that they be recruited from among PZPR members and candidates and young people belonging to youth organizations. A high-school education is a comprehensive requirement.

The Sejm deputies noted that the ministry has young stabilized cadres. Seventy-three percent of the cadres consist of people under 40. This makes sense. After all, conditions of the service cause earlier retirement of officers. Over 86 percent of persons in command positions have a college education. On the whole, 22 percent of all officers of the ministry are college graduates. This is the result of persistent training activities in the past decade and testifies to the high general standard and professional training of the cadres. The Sejm deputies also thought it noteworthy that more than two-thirds of the officers are members and candidates of the party, which confirms the achievements of party work in the ministry.

It was stressed in the discussion that professional improvement is also a permanent element of personnel policy. All the officers of the ministry participate in it. Professional improvement courses end in an annual examination. This requirement is due to the increasingly important tasks with which the Ministry of Internal Affairs is faced.



The Sejm deputies asked many specific questions. Deputy Witold Gadomski (PZPR, Kielce) drew attention to the problems which should accompany the persistent infusion of young cadres to the Ministry of Internal Affairs. He stressed the importance of classes on social and indoctrination topics, pointing out that public opinion of the ministry's activity is shaped precisely through everyday contacts of militia officers with the citizens. Deputy Lidia Jackiewicz-Kozanecka (PZPR, Lodz) spoke about the ideological and moral requirements for services of the ministry. In her turn, Cecylia Moderacka (SD, Suwalki) stressed the significance of permanently perfecting the professional knowledge of officers with regard to issues of applying and abiding by the law.

Summing up the discussion, Deputy Zygmunt Surowiec (ZSL, Kalisz) stated that the commission praises highly the activity of the administration of the Ministry of Internal Affairs aimed at consistently improving the skills of officers in various services of the ministry and permanently perfecting the forms and methods of their work. This constitutes an important guarantee of proper fulfillment of the tasks facing the ministry. The recent difficult years were a convincing example of this. At the same time, the resolute drive of the administration of the Ministry of Internal Affairs to purge the Citizens' Militia and Security Service of people who have overstepped their authority or failed to meet the requirements of the service is confirmed.

#### Legal Tasks Outlined

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 18 Dec 84 p 6

[Statement by Capt Andrzej Clowacki, B.A., officer of the Administrative-Legal Office of the Ministry of Internal Affairs: "Administrative and Legislative Activities of the Ministry of Internal Affairs"]

[Text] For a majority of the citizens, operation of the Ministry of Internal Affairs conjures up activities of a repressive nature. However, the ministry also fulfills important tasks with regard to social and administrative issues, which are talked and written about less frequently in the mass media. Capt Andrzej Glowacki, B.A., officer of the Administrative-Legal Office of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, senior legal counselor, made a statement to RZECZPOSPOLITA on this aspect of the activity of the ministry.

To a considerable degree, recently introduced legislative and administrative actions result from the desire to streamline services to the citizen and wherever possible cut the red tape in the activities he has to undertake while taking care of his business.

## New and Amended

The law of 5 December 1983 amending the law on passports was an important legal act in this regard. As early as the period of legislative preparation of this draft amendment, the legal service of the ministry sponsored many community meetings, consultations and conferences. Their recommendations were used to work out optimal solutions. They are valuable because, among other things, while avoiding broad wording, they specify cases of admissible refusal to issue a passport, defining them in a concrete and sufficiently exhaustive fashion. The provision imposing the duty to justify all negative decisions on issuing passports (unless such a decision is made due to the protection of state secrets or another vital concern of the state associated with its security, defense capability, economy, or public order), and to enumerate reasons which can provide grounds for refusing to issue a passport were designed to ensure more effective protection of the interests of citizens petitioning for a passport. Indeed, they have been playing this role.

Certain administrative changes were implemented in the ministry in order to simplify passport matters. At present, a majority of them are decided at regional, district or city offices of internal affairs, where the staff has been increased. It can be said that, in a matter of speaking, the office has come closer to the citizen.

Amending the law on 8 June 1955--the law on acts of civil status--would also be essential due to the same considerations. The preparation of draft legal regulations in this field was completed recently. The authors of this draft were primarily guided by the desire to streamline the operation of local agencies of state administration. This would release the citizen from many burdensome duties associated with obtaining and presenting various documents.

Amendments to the law on the registry of the population and ID cards should also be mentioned on this occasion. They introduced many simplified procedures such as, for example, exemption from mandatory registration during stays of less than 30 days for the purposes of tourism and recreation, opportunity to register for a temporary stay without restriction in case of employment outside the locality of permanent residence and also for a permanent stay in workers' dormitories, which, for example, will allow these persons to join housing cooperatives. In keeping with popular recommendations, the law introduces linkage between registrations for a permanent stay and a temporary stay of over 2 months and proof of legal tenancy on given premises. Given the housing shortage, this provision will facilitate the solution of the frequent conflicts over registration rights and will promote the shaping of proper interpersonal relations at the place of residence.

## Officers--Lawyers

A sizeable group of lawyers can be found in the ranks of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. On the one hand, it is a necessity, given the nature of tasks the ministry fulfills; on the other hand, this provides a guarantee of regular application of guidelines set down in legal provisions in everyday

activities. Our officer--lawyers are also involved in responsible volunteer activities. It can be said without dramatization that on frequent occasions they are the driving force in actions aimed at legal the education of the populace, mainly within the framework of the ZPP [Association of Polish Lawyers]. Our lawyers hold community meetings in enterprises and schools, communicating the legal aspects of the ministry's activities as well as offering broader legal information in general. We are noting considerable social demand for such information and legal aid. Incidentally, such legal-aid centers for officers and civilian employees operate in the organizational units of the ministry. I myself have had the opportunity to participate in these activities for many years, to my great satisfaction.

It seems that the citizen is often lost in the great number of various legal acts. This does not come as a surprise to me, because lawyers as well have considerable problems with that. At present, a many thousands of acts of various ranks are in effect in the country. It is impossible for any one person to grasp all of them, and it is all the more difficult for a nonlawyer. Dry, very peculiar legal language is an essential problem in correctly interpreting the regulations. Therefore, an explanation of the regulations in a form comprehensible to the citizen is needed.

I would like to stress on this occasion that the administration of the ministry attaches great importance to the institution of complaints and suggestions which are obtained in various ways, among others through legal consultations, issuing recommendations for efficient and thorough consideration of all received reports.

#### Tasks for Today

The legal service of the Ministry of Internal Affairs is now facing several basic tasks which require that the close bond with the citizens be maintained. Basically, information and interpretation of legal provisions pertaining to the operation of the ministry are such tasks. The significance of these new solutions has not yet been appreciated by the citizens. Meanwhile, it is the law, and not the more or less reliable accounts of various persons or the demagogic propaganda of foreign Polish-language radio stations, that should be the source of information for the citizen about the tasks of the ministry, the powers of SB Security Service and MO Citizens' Militia officers, or specific action measures. Many provisions of the law serve to build the confidence of the citizens in the ministry. One of them is the institution enabling citizens to file claims against the ministry associated with damage to health, loss of life of an immediate family member or damage to property if the guilt of an officer is proven, even in the case of so-called indeterminable guilt. I admit that we are interested in settling these claims out of court. This is in keeping with the social interest, since the social costs of judicial systems are reduced by decreasing the case load of the courts. Also, this is in agreement with the interests of the injured party, because he can receive immediately the compensation and eventually other proceeds due him. Getting involved in legal counseling in the broader sense of this word is a special part of our tasks. On this occasion, I would like to inform you that, for example, during

the people's councils election campaign the lawyers of the Ministry of Internal Affairs responded to the appeal of the PRON [Polish Movement for National Rebirth] and took part in the work of the information and counseling centers. Having myself participated in these activities, I noticed that citizens seeking information or legal advice on personal issues having nothing to do with the elections also came to these centers.

Participation in the legislative process is also our everyday task. We do not restrict ourselves to the issues closely related to the operation of our ministry. We view the drafts of legal acts from a broader social perspective. It is our permanent concern resolutely to limit the number of such acts. As I have already said, this is also in the best interest of the citizen.

#### Promoting Legal Awareness

There is a lot to be done in the sphere of the legal awareness and culture of our society. Large-scale propagation and information work associated with various aspects of legal activities and the law in general are also needed for that purpose.

It seems that the outlook in this sphere is bright. Recently, the leadership of the party has devoted much attention to these issues. I would like to recall that on 16 October 1984 the Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee, while reviewing suggestions on activities aimed at raising legal awareness of the population, stated among other things that "upbringing in the spirit of abiding by the law and principles of social coexistence should be started in the family and in school. This must be reinforced by the respective activities of the mass media, social and trade union organizations, and state institutions." These issues were especially emphasized at the 17th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee. At the plenum, it was stressed both in the Politburo report and in the discussion that perpetuating the rule of law both in the operation of the authorities and in social behavior is an issue of outstanding significance. The renewal of social life, development of the economy, and reinforcement of the international position of Poland hinge on this.

I think that the recent initiatives of the representatives of the mass media in this field are highly valuable and socially useful due to such considerations.

9761

CSO: 2600/428

POLAND

ACHIEVEMENTS, GOALS OF LAW, ORDER CAMPAIGN PRESENTED

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 20 Dec 84 pp 1, 2

[PAP Report: "Meeting of the Committee of the Council of Ministers on Matters of Upholding the Law, Public Order, and Social Discipline: The Effectiveness of Activities--Tasks for 1985"]

[Text] On 19 December 1984 a plenary session of the Council of Ministers Committee on Upholding the Law, Public Order, and Social Discipline was held in Warsaw. In the course of these deliberations, led by the committee chairman, General of Arms Czeslaw Kiszczak, candidate member of the Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee and minister of internal affairs, the effectiveness of committee activities to date was evaluated, and tasks to be implemented in 1985 were discussed.

With reference to the resolutions of the 16th and 17th Plenums of the PZPR Central Committee, it was indicated that the committee's activities had made possible a more resolute and consequently more effective fight against delinquency and the elimination of sources and signs of irksome social pathology.

During the year that had elapsed since the committee's creation, stated Czeslaw Kiszczak, its members had had many valuable experiences and had produced significant results. The committee had confirmed its importance as a coordinating agency inspiring and supporting the activities of institutions responsible for preserving the rule of law in the state. It also had become fixed in the social consciousness, as confirmed by the many letters and calls from citizens with expressions of support and approval for the activities undertaken by the committee.

In the discussion, strong emphasis was placed on the integrative role of the committee, which, in drawing together representatives of all the agencies of legal protection, of control, and various central institutions, creates a platform for the exchange of views and experiences and the elaboration of joint appraisals and recommendations in the field of the fight against crime and other disturbances. In this context it was emphasized that the committee has devoted much attention to the most dangerous manifestations of crime, especially crime against the life and health of citizens, their property, and the economic interests of the state.



In response to the many voices of the community demanding energetic actions by state agencies in the field of preservation of harmony, order, security, and discipline, the committee initiated several discipline and order operations with a nationwide scope. Among other areas, they covered railroad transport and truck transport. They were conducted through the efforts of the Citizens' Militia, soldiers from the MON [Ministry of National Defense] and MSW [Ministry of Internal Affairs], functionaries of the SOK [Railroad Security Service], member of the ORMO [Volunteer Reserve of Citizens' Militia], and the most active members of the community.

The fact that the conducted operations covered approximately 150,000 railroad installations, more than 200,000 freight and passenger trains, and revealed 1,461 perpetrators of crimes and more than 295,000 perpetrators of misdemeanors, can attest to the range of these operations, which was indicated during the deliberations. More than 12,500 drunken individuals were arrested who were disturbing peace and order at railroad stations, etc. These numbers illustrate both the scale of the disciplinary undertakings and the extent of the disturbances of order which required a response.

Even today we can speak of the effectiveness of these activities. In the majority of railroad installations one can observe an improvement of order and cleanliness, better but still unsatisfactory passenger service, and a decrease in the number of thefts of rail shipments.

The committee, it was recalled, also was concerned with waste in the broad sense, in striving to establish the reasons and conditions causing waste of raw materials and other materials and human labor.

The most frequent cause of this waste, it was asserted, was improper discharge of duties by persons directly responsible for due protection and management of property. As a result, raw materials, semifinished goods, and deficit commodities, including food, are being wasted. The impoverishment of the market and the risk of losses experienced by the community and producers themselves are the result of poor-quality production.

It is sufficient to recall that this year the State Trade Inspectorate carried out random checks of 45,000 batches of various products earmarked for trade and challenged 31 percent of the examined goods. As a result of a reduction in the price of the defective products, purchasers avoided spending many millions of zlotys which were supposed to cover incompetence and poor workmanship.

Based on the conducted inspections, the appropriate parent agencies were presented with conclusions and recommendations on eliminating the causes of the ascertained irregularities. As a result of the conducted checks, the situation was found to be improved in many establishments covered by the inspections. Unfortunately, cases of a lack of positive effects were also noted, although they were few. They involve the Polar plants in Wroclaw, for example.

The work plans for 1985 contain provisions for appropriate reinspections. If then--it was emphasized in the course of the deliberations--the ascertained shortcomings are not eliminated, disciplinary and official and, if need be, criminal recommendations will be made regarding the guilty parties.

It was stated that among the operations initiated and supervised by the committee, a special place is occupied by the still ongoing control and verification operation in selected fields of the nonsocialized economy, including foreign small-scale manufacturing and handicraft enterprises.

This operation, it was emphasized repeatedly, is not aimed at restricting this important field of the Polish economy but at putting it in order and eliminating cases of infractions of the law, which unfortunately often accompany the economic activity of this sector.

It is enough to remember, we were informed during the meeting, that as a result of the control activities conducted to date, which have covered nearly 110,000 installations of the nonsocialized nonagricultural economy, criminal and criminal-financial proceedings have been initiated against almost 23,000 persons. Financial agencies have meted out financial penalties amounting to more than 962 million zlotys to date. Persons suspected of abuse have been fined and made to forfeit property--money and buildings with a value exceeding 1.8 billion zlotys--in advance of their imminent punishments. More than 1,500 recommendations for revocation of licenses for economic activity have been sent to state administrative agencies in connection with the discovery of infringements of binding regulations. To date, these agencies have handed down decisions on the revocation of 541 of these licenses. The remaining recommendations are being considered.

We were reminded that repressive actions undertaken within the framework of the discussed operation have been directed exclusively against dishonest people who are amassing million-dollar fortunes by breaking or abusing the law. No indulgence of dishonesty will be tolerated.

During the discussions, stress was placed on the role, tasks, and undertakings of the committee that have been subordinated to the protection of the interests of the community, especially hard-working people, and broadly perceived principles of social justice. Among other things, initiatives for changes in some legal acts striving to increase the personal safety of citizens and their property, limiting the possibility of acquisition of undue profits, or strengthening the principles of social justice have been subordinated to this protection.

It was emphasized that in all of these activities, in aspiring to streamline the coordination of the undertakings of various state agencies, the committee does not intend to take their place. However, it will endeavor to enforce the fulfillment of their duties to the state and the community.

It was stated with satisfaction that the committee is receiving ever stronger social support from hard-working people, especially those in the working class. Among other things, the participation of workers on teams controlling the activity of trade and firms with foreign capital is proof of this fact.

Attention also was paid to the fact that everything that the committee does is subordinated above all to concern about the interests of hard-working people and about assuring the community's protection and safety. No honest person should fear any control activities, but let dishonest people who are breaking the law or feeding on others' injustices count neither on tolerance nor forbearance.

As a result of the committee's actions, the circle of people who desire well-functioning laws, due harmony and order, and due social discipline has become tighter and stronger. At the same time, this has caused opponents of the rule of law, opponents of calm and social stabilization, to become weaker or at least to lose strength. This is perceptible in many sectors.

All these positive trends will be improved and strengthened.

In the program of action for the first half of 1985, which was approved by committee members, continuation of the order and control operations in railroad areas, automobile transport, and the liquid fuel industry and also in sections of trade and private foreign firms has been envisaged, among other things. In this phase of committee activities, primary attention will be focused on the correctness of the functioning of units committed to performing supervision and control and on the causes of shortcomings occurring in this area. The means of carrying out the recommendations made during previous checks also will be rechecked.

Activities intended to improve order in public places and further improve the ability to find perpetrators of dangerous crimes against citizens' life, health, and property and the property of the community and those aiming to accelerate criminal proceedings for these acts also will continue to be conducted.

The causes of the poor quality of goods in selected production establishments and the level of work discipline will be investigated. Work on a report on the state of crime in Poland and on a program of preventive activities aimed at limiting phenomena of social pathology will be continued.

The discussion participants included: Deputy Premier Zenon Komender, chairman of the Central Commission for the Fight Against Speculation; Wlodzimierz Berutowicz, first president of the Supreme Court; Jozef Zyto, prosecutor general of the Polish People's Republic; Lech Domeracki, minister of justice; Ambassador Zygmunt Surowiec, chairman of the Sejm Commission for Internal Affairs and the Administration of Justice; Ambassador Eugenia Kempara, member of the Council of State; Prof Brunon Holyst, director of the Institute for Problems of Crime; and Gen Div Lucjan Czubinski, deputy chairman of the committee.

8729

CSO: 2600/423

POLAND

DISSATISFACTION WITH 40 YEARS OF PROGRESS EXPRESSED

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 5 Dec 84 p 2

[Text] In May 1984 the Polish Radio and Television Public Opinion Research Center [OBOP] conducted a nationwide sampling poll of views on the achievements of the PRL during its 40 years of existence.

In the past the OBOP has conducted similar investigations, namely on the 30th anniversary of the PRL in 1974, and then on the 35th anniversary in 1979. From the methodical viewpoint, the results of all three polls easily lend themselves to comparison, which makes it possible to determine any changes in public opinion regarding the achievements of the PRL, as they have evolved from the crisis situation.

The most general question of the poll was this: "In your opinion, how will future historians rate our post-war 40-year period?" In response to this question 7 percent said that historians would rate this period as definitely positive, 49 percent said that it would be rather positive, though not without certain negative aspects, and 22 percent said that it would be rather negative, though not without certain positive aspects, while 18 percent of those polled did not express any opinion.

Compared with the results of the two polls in previous years, the percentages of positive responses decreased, the number of negative judgments increased, and so did the number of those declining to give any answers. Hence, in this year's poll, 56 percent of the respondents expressed replies ranging from moderate to definitely positive, which compares to 74 percent in 1974 and 85 percent in 1979. Responses ranging from moderate to definitely negative amounted in this poll to 26 percent, as compared with 12 percent in 1974 and 8 percent in 1979. The figure of 18 percent who declined to give answers in the latest poll compares to 14 and 17 percent respectively, in previous polls.

The most frequent arguments advanced by respondents to explain their positive rating of the 40 years were: progress in all fields, industrial development, improvement of the standard of living, expansion of education and literacy. In addition, a smaller percentage referred to the reconstruction of the country following the war-time devastation, easier accessibility to social services, free medical care, agricultural development, and also general employment availability.

The most frequent arguments advanced by respondents to explain their negative rating of the 40 years were: economic blunders, low standard of living, blunders by the political authorities. In addition, the shortage of housing, underdevelopment of agriculture, and poor market supplies were also mentioned.

The questionnaire also asked for multiple choice answers as to which realm of life needed most to be worked on. The most common answer was housing construction and agriculture.

In addition to the questions regarding the general rating of the 40-year period and an evaluation of developments in selected areas, respondents were requested to express opinions about particular historical phases of the 40-year period. They were given a choice of eight separate periods whose limits were demarcated by crucial sociopolitical events.

The best mark was received by the 1971-1975 period, as 79 percent of those polled rated it as positive and 12 percent as negative. The worst mark was given to the 1980-1981 period, as 70 percent of those polled rated it as negative and 19 percent as positive.

The most common reasons given for the positive rating of the 1971-1975 period were a better market supply and an improvement in the standard of living. The most common reasons for the negative rating of the 1980-1981 period were poor supplies, lack of stability, strikes, and social upheavals.

When asked whether they perceived in the history of the 40-year period anything for the Poles to be proud of, 61 percent of the respondents gave positive answers, 9 percent were negative, while the percentage of those declining to comment was rather high at 30 percent.

First place in the list of examples for Poles to be proud of was occupied by the following achievements: reconstruction of the country following war devastation, industrial development, expansion of education and literacy.

On the other hand, 56 percent of those polled stated that the history of the 40 years of the PRL contained things Poles might be ashamed of. The most common reasons for such shame were poor management of the economy, higher national debt, plus social pathology, i.e., alcoholism, speculation, high crime rate.

Respondents were also asked which of the socioprofessional groups achieved the greatest material gains during the 40-year period of the PRL's existence. Most people thought that craftsmen and private enterprises had scored the greatest gains. Further down the ladder, material advance was also perceived for farmers and workers, and a very low percentage of those polled mentioned the intelligentsia as a winner.



Rating material advancement is always highly subjective, as evidenced here, too, by the divergence of views obtained on this topic in various socio-professional groups. For instance, while a very small percentage of farmers perceive their own material advancement, tending to attribute greater gains in this regard to the intelligentsia, craftsmen, and workers, workers feel that craftsmen, followed by farmers, were the group who harvested the greatest financial benefit. In the area of material advancement, workers place their group higher than the intelligentsia. By the same token, white-collar workers with higher education complain about the material advancement of workers, and none of those people refer to the intelligentsia as a group that obtained the greatest material gains.

The next question dealt with an evaluation as to which socioprofessional group had scored the greatest gains in the 40-year period insofar as social respect and recognition were concerned. In this regard workers scored the most points while craftsmen were the last.

The last section of questions in the OBOP poll concerned the present situation of Poland in the world in five selected fields: international politics, trade, culture and arts, technology, and sports. In all those fields, except for culture and arts, the position of Poland was given a rather negative mark, as compared with the prevalence of positive marks in the 1974 and 1979 polls. For instance, in the latest poll Poland's position in international politics scored 40 percent positive votes, while in the 1974 poll it had 73 percent, and in the 1979 poll it had 83 percent. In sports the figure of positive votes for Poland was 39 percent in 1984 as compared with 78 percent in each of the two previous polls.

The field of culture and arts was the only one of all the five mentioned areas that scored a greater percentage of positive than negative votes.

As we analyze today the results of polls for the 1970's, we see that the conceptions of Poles about Poland's role in the world were then a little too ambitious. Today's opinions of respondents, on the other hand, indicate a very tough judgment of the actual achievements of Poland against the background of worldwide achievements, and provide a critical insight into the achievements of the entire 40-year period of the Polish People's Republic.

The results of OBOP's poll contain nothing in the way of a jubilee celebration. As compared with ratings of the 30-year and 35-year periods of the PRL, they are much more critical. We should bear in mind, though, that the evaluation of the 40-year period of the PRL, as revealed by OBOP's poll, is an evaluation made by people who live under hard conditions in years of crisis.

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CSO: 2600/372

ROMANIA

ROMANIA LIBERA INTERVIEW WITH PRC'S CHEN MUHUA

AU311602 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 30 Jan 85 p 6

[Interview with Chen Muhua, PRC minister of foreign trade and economic relations, to ROMANIA LIBERA reporter Crina Sirbu in Bucharest: "Fruitful Cooperation for Mutual Advantage and the Cause of Peace Throughout the World"; date of interview not given, first paragraph is Sirbu's introduction]

[Text] In the light of the close friendly Romanian-Chinese relations, and of common aspirations for cooperation and mutual benefit, new direct contacts took place in Bucharest recently on the occasion of a visit paid to our country by a delegation led by Comrade Chen Muhua, state councillor, PRC minister of foreign trade and economic relations, and chairman, on behalf of her country, of the Romanian-Chinese Governmental Commission for Economic and Technical Cooperation. Indeed, since the results of this bilateral cooperation were evaluated on this occasion, this visit has provided a favorable opportunity to investigate and point out new ways and means to consistently deepen and expand the many-sided relations between the two countries and peoples.

[Question] Here we are, at the end of your visit to Romania. Soon you will be returning to your homeland. What thoughts, what feelings do you take with you? I think this is a favorable opportunity to survey briefly this visit.

[Answer] I came to Romania at the head of the Chinese governmental trade delegation to discuss and sign the trade protocol for 1985. The two delegations, the representatives of the two countries worked successfully. They worked in a spirit of mutual confidence, respect, and fruitful cooperation. I can state that in 1985 our volume of our commercial exchange will further develop. I would like to add that, besides working well here, the Chinese delegation has been warmly welcomed by the Romanian side. We are very much satisfied with the results of our visit. We leave Bucharest and head for our country inspired by feelings of real satisfaction and appreciation, feelings that connect our two peoples.

[Question] Thus, in the light of the documents signed during these days, one can assume that Romanian-Chinese economic and commercial relations will have a continuously upward course.

[Answer] There are fruitful exchanges between us, characterized by delivery of products which I could say have become traditional products. The percentages of these products will increase. I express my hope that, by joint efforts, the

protocol for 1985 will be implemented under the most favorable conditions, and the volume of bilateral commercial exchange will consistently increase.

[Question] What would you consider to be a significant aspect of your talks during this visit?

[Answer] I would like to stress primarily the exceptional fact of President Nicolae Ceausescu receiving us. During the talks, that were held in a warm and friendly atmosphere, satisfaction was expressed with the evolution of economic exchanges between the two countries and with the results of the commercial negotiations for 1985. I noted with satisfaction that your country and Romania's leadership pay great attention to the development of Romanian-Chinese economic and commercial relations. I wish to reassert the fact that our country and China's party and state leadership also attach great importance to the expansion of these relations. I believe that the direct care and guidance of the two countries' leaders give ever greater dimensions to the bilateral economic cooperation.

[Question] One can state that, particularly during the last 10 years, the Romanian-Chinese summit meetings acquired a traditional character. On the occasion of his participation to the 13th RCP Congress, Vice Premier Wan Li, in a statement given to our paper, reasserted the great resonance of this dialogue. What importance do you, esteemed Comrade Minister, attach to it?

[Answer] These years have indeed witnessed significant mutual visits paid by delegations at the highest level. These are occasions for frequent exchanges of views and we believe that these are very useful and favorable for the overall development of relations between the two countries. At the same time, we believe that they make an important contribution to the cause of peace throughout the world and to international cooperation.

[Question] Permit me to take advantage of this opportunity--an opportunity offered by you despite your pressing time--to talk to you, to ask you about the major tendencies reflected in your field of activity. In other words, how would you define the present condition of the PRC's foreign trade? Just yesterday, the cables of the international press agencies stated that in 1984 this registered a considerable increase, compared to the previous year, as well as some structural changes....

[Answer] Our country utilizes a policy of opening up its foreign relations. This means that we will develop our foreign trade as regards both exports and imports, since we want to build. Thus, we must export additional products, so that in turn we can buy products we need for the work to build our country. We hail the industrialists, trades people, and people from banking and financial circles from other countries who wish to invest in China and wish to initiate joint ventures. At the same time, on the basis of equality of rights and mutual advantage, we want to import modern technologies and modern equipment to build socialism in our country.

[Question] Please let me wish you success.

[Answer] Thank you, we wholeheartedly wish the people of your country, under the RCP leadership headed by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, new and significant successes the great work of continuously developing your homeland.

ROMANIA

CEAUSESCU MESSAGE TO AL-ASAD ON RE-ELECTION

AU292034 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 25 Jan 85 p 5

[Text] To His Excellency Mr Hafiz al-Asad, secretary general of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party and president of the Syrian Arab Republic.

On my own behalf and on behalf of the RCP Central Committee, I take particular pleasure in extending to you warm greetings on the occasion of your re-election as secretary general of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party Central Committee at the 8th regional congress of the party.

I express my satisfaction with the good relations established between the RCP and the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party and between the SR of Romania and the Syrian Arab Republic and I believe that these relations, based on mutual esteem and respect, will further develop in the interest of the two parties and peoples and the general cause of peace, security, and international cooperation.

I wish you success in fulfilling the mission of high responsibility entrusted to you, much health and personal happiness, and to the friendly Syrian people I wish new achievements on the path of the homeland's progress and prosperity.

Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania.

CSO: 4100/96

ROMANIA

MILITARY BOOK ON EARLY CIVILIZATION REVIEWED

AU241643 [Editorial Report] Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian on 22 January 1985 carries on page 2 an 1,800-word review by Ion Pavelescu of a history book titled "The Military History of the Romanian People" printed by the Bucharest Military Publishing House in 1984, under the aegis of the Romanian Military History Commission and the Center for Studies and Research of Military History and Theory. The author says that this volume is "the first of a 10-volume series," which will deal with the military aspects of the Romanian people's historical development from the beginning to present times.

According to the author, the first volume deals primarily with the Thracian-Getic-Dacian civilization of 2,000 years ago and the period immediately afterwards: "The book faithfully renders the picture of the material and intellectual civilization which flourished in the Carpathian-Danube-Pontic State from times immemorial." In this state, the task of the military was to "defend the established institutions and authorities and ensure the people's sovereignty," while "militaristic trends were alien to the Dacians, who never started wars of plunder and invasion."

The review deals at length with the process of Dacia's Romanization, which strengthened the Latin nature of the language of the future Romanian nation. The author points out the role of various historic Dacian figures in the future "establishment of a self-dependent Romanian principality in Transylvania." The final chapters of the book deal with the "Battle of Posada, which put an end to Hungarian expansion south of the Carpathian arch and fully sanctioned the creation of the principality of Wallachia."

Concluding his review, the author writes: "The authors of this volume interpret a huge number of historical facts in the light of dialectical-historic materialism and of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's social and political thinking."

CSO: 2700/96



ROMANIA

SCINTEIA ON ENERGY SAVING MEASURES

AU241410 [Editorial Report] Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian on 17 January 1985 carries on page 5 a 1,200-word item by reporter Laurentiu Duta entitled: "Close Cooperation Between Municipal Administration and Citizens" published under the rubric "Energy Saving" with the subhead: "The Way the People's Council, SDUO [Social Democracy and Unity Organizations], and the Citizens Act in Bucharest 4th District." The author reports on statements by some Bucharest residents, who, acting with "patriotic duty," report on how they are managing to contribute to the "energy saving program." The author notes that at the headquarters of the People's Council of Bucharest's 4th district some very determined decisions were taken, the day after the 13 January executive political committee meeting in Predeal. The council decided "to use 25 watt bulbs for lighting staircases and annexes; to use automatic time switches on staircases; to eschew the use of every electric appliance for the winter period, and a very important thing: the chairmen of tenants' associations were given lists with names of stores where they can get a supply of 15 watt and 25 watt bulbs."

According to the item, Ion Vesca, chairman of the association on Pionierilor Street said: "As a matter of fact, on our staircases we have always had 15 watt bulbs and it did not bother anybody. You do not need lighting like in a ballroom in order to unlock your door or greet a neighbor"; whereas Constantin Petrescu, a tenant in the same building said: "Since the cold weather started we have forgotten that the fridge has a plug. Why should we be so greedy with the artificial cold when the balcony is just as good for preserving food?"

At the end of the report the author notes that there are still ways of saving energy. Aurel Serafim, official at the trade section of the People's Council in Bucharest's 4th district is reported as saying: "In one day alone, several installations that use a lot of energy were found to be operating with no purpose whatever in the present circumstances of our trade network, such as: 247 refrigerated shop window displays" or "412 plugs in offices (for...coffee!)."

CSO: 2700/96

ROMANIA

BRIEFS

NEW ZEALAND ENVOY--Bucharest, 30 Jan (AGERPRES)--On 30 January President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania received Neville Hugo Sale Judd, Bucharest ambassador of New Zealand, who paid a farewell visit at the conclusion of his Romanian mission. Talks proceeded in a cordial atmosphere. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1920 GMT 30 Jan 85]

GREEK OFFICIAL ENDS VISIT--Bucharest, 2 Feb (AGERPRES)--A delegation of the Panhellenic Socialist Movement--PASOK--led by Apostolos Tsokhatzopoulos, member of the Executive Bureau of the Central Committee of the PASOK, minister-assistant to the prime minister of Greece, paid a visit to Romania over 29 January-2 February. During their Romanian sojourn the delegation conducted talks at the RCP Central Committee headquarters with Ion Stoian, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the RCP Central Committee, at the Ministry of Foreign Trade and International Economic Cooperation, at the headquarters of the Brasov County Committee of the RCP and the Ploiesti Municipal Party Committee. They also had interviews at the "Stefan Gheorghiu" Academy, saw round the "1 Mai" works of Ploiesti the truck and tractor manufacturing enterprises of Brasov as well as other industrial units. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1901 GMT 2 Feb 85]

MALI ENVOY--Bucharest, 31 Jan (AGERPRES)--Favourable premises exist for a further expansion and development of the collaboration between Romania and the Republic of Mali, said the Romanian head of state, Nicolae Ceausescu, on 31 January as he received the credentials of Djibril Demba Diallo, the new ambassador of the Republic of Mali in Bucharest. Pointing out the positive evolution of the relations between Romania and Mali, between the RCP and the Union of Democratique du Peuple Malien, the Romanian head of state noted that work has to be done for an intensification and expansion of the bilateral trade and for a materialization of the economic cooperation ventures, to base them on long-term agreements apt to render them stable and lasting. The Romanian head of state also noted that the two states can develop a good collaboration in the international life, in the struggle for a policy of peace, independence, cooperation and detente. [Text] [Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1659 GMT 31 Jan 85]

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